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3 PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,  
4 joint with the  
5 COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND REFORM  
6 and the  
7 COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
8 U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
9 WASHINGTON, D.C.

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13 DEPOSITION OF: JENNIFER WILLIAMS  
14  
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18 Thursday, November 7, 2019  
19 Washington, D.C.  
20

21 The deposition in the above matter was held in Room HVC-304,  
22 Capitol Visitor Center, commencing at 9:35 a.m.  
23 Present: Representatives Schiff, Swalwell, Heck, Maloney, and  
24 Demings.  
25 Also Present: Raskin, Norton, Perry, Jordan, and Meadows.

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2     Appearances:

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5     For the PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE:

6

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21

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23     For the COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND REFORM:

24

25 [REDACTED]

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1 For the COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

2

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7

8 For JENNIFER WILLIAMS:

9

10 EMILY DAMRAU

11 JUSTIN SHUR

12 CALEB HAYES-DEATS

13 ELIZABETH SAWYER

14 MOLOLAMKEN

15 600 New Hampshire Ave, N.W.

16 Washington, D.C. 20037

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1           THE CHAIRMAN: We'll come to order. Good morning, Ms. Williams,  
2       and welcome to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence  
3       which, along with the Foreign Affairs and Oversight Committees, is  
4       conducting this investigation as part of the official impeachment  
5       inquiry of the House of Representatives.

6           Today's deposition is being conducted as a part of the impeachment  
7       inquiry. In light of attempts by the Office of the Vice President to  
8       direct you not to cooperate with the inquiry, the committee had no  
9       choice but to compel your appearance today. We thank you for complying  
10      with a duly authorized congressional subpoena, as other current and  
11      former officials from across the Federal Government have done.

12          Ms. Williams currently serves as the Special Adviser for Europe  
13       and Russia in the Office of the Vice President. She has been detailed  
14       to this position from the State Department since April 2019. Ms.  
15       Williams is a long-serving career Foreign Service Officer, and  
16       previously held posts at our embassies in the United Kingdom, Lebanon,  
17       and Jamaica.

18          Ms. Williams, thank you for your service. We look forward to your  
19       testimony today, including your knowledge of and involvement in key  
20       policy discussions, meetings, and decisions on Ukraine that relate  
21       directly to areas under investigation by the committees. This  
22       includes developments related to the recall of Ambassador Yovanovitch;  
23       the President's July 25, 2019, call with Ukrainian President Zelensky;  
24       the hold placed on the President on nearly -- placed by the President  
25       on nearly \$400 million of security assistance for Ukraine; and the Vice

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1 President's meeting and phone call with President Zelensky in  
2 September. We will also have questions about the Office of the Vice  
3 President's response to the impeachment inquiry, including the  
4 committee's request for documents, with which the Vice President has  
5 refused to comply.

6 Finally, to restate what I and others have emphasized in our  
7 interviews, Congress will not tolerate any reprisal, threat of  
8 reprisal, or attempt to retaliate against any U.S. Government official  
9 for testifying before Congress, including you or any of your  
10 colleagues. It is disturbing that the Office of the Vice President,  
11 in coordination with the White House, has sought to prohibit a public  
12 servant, such as yourself, from cooperating with the inquiry and with  
13 Congress and have tried to limit what you can say. This is  
14 unacceptable. Thankfully, consummate professionals like you have  
15 demonstrated remarkable courage in coming forward to testify and tell  
16 the truth.

17 Before I turn to committee counsel to begin the interview, I  
18 invite Ranking Member Nunes or, in his absence, a minority member of  
19 the Foreign Affairs or Oversight Committees to make any opening  
20 remarks.

21 MR. JORDAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 I just want to welcome Ms. Williams and thank her for her service  
23 to our country.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Mr. Goldman.

25 MR. GOLDMAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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1        This is a deposition of Jennifer Williams conducted by the House  
2        Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence pursuant to the impeachment  
3        inquiry announced by the Speaker of the House on September 24th, 2019,  
4        and affirmed by House Resolution 660 on October 31st, 2019.

5        Ms. Williams, if you could please now state your full name and  
6        spell your last name for the record.

7        MS. WILLIAMS: Jennifer Williams. And, sorry, spell that as  
8        well or --

9        MR. GOLDMAN: Common spelling?

10        MS. WILLIAMS: Common spelling, yes.

11        MR. GOLDMAN: Along with other proceedings in furtherance of the  
12        inquiry to date, this deposition is part of a joint investigation led  
13        by the Intelligence Committee, in coordination with the Committees on  
14        Foreign Affairs and Oversight and Reform.

15        In the room today are majority staff and minority staff from all  
16        three committees. And this will be a staff-led deposition. Members,  
17        of course, may ask questions during their allotted time, as has been  
18        the case in every deposition since the inception of this investigation.

19        My name is Daniel Goldman. I'm the Director of Investigations  
20        for the Intelligence Committee's majority staff, and I want to thank  
21        you, again, for coming in today.

22        Let me do some brief introductions. To my right here is Daniel  
23        Noble. He's the Senior Investigative Counsel for the Intelligence  
24        Committee's majority staff. Mr. Noble and I will be conducting most  
25        of the interview for the majority.

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1           And now I'll ask my minority counterparts to introduce  
2 themselves.

3           MR. CASTOR: Steve Castor with the Republican staff.

4 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
5 [REDACTED]  
6 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
7 [REDACTED]

8           MR. GOLDMAN: This deposition will be conducted entirely at the  
9 unclassified level. However, it is being conducted in HPSCI secure  
10 spaces and in the presence of staff with appropriate security  
11 clearances.

12          It is the committee's expectation that neither questions asked  
13 of you, nor answers provided by you, will require discussion of any  
14 information that is currently or at any point could be properly  
15 classified under Executive Order 13526. You are reminded that  
16 EO-13526 states that, quote, "In no case shall information be  
17 classified, continue to be maintained as classified, or fail to be  
18 declassified," unquote, for the purpose of concealing any violations  
19 of law or preventing embarrassment of any person or entity.

20          If any of our questions can only be answered with classified  
21 information, please inform us of that fact before you answer the  
22 question and we can adjust accordingly.

23          Today's deposition is not being taken in executive session but,  
24 because of the sensitive and confidential nature of some of the topics  
25 and materials that will be discussed, access to the transcript of the

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1 deposition will be limited to the three committees in attendance.  
2 Under the House deposition rules, no Member of Congress nor any staff  
3 member can discuss the substance of the testimony that you provide  
4 today. You and your attorney will have an opportunity to review the  
5 transcript before it is released.

6 Before we begin, I would like to go over the ground rules for this  
7 deposition. We will be following the House regulations for  
8 depositions which we have previously provided to your counsel. The  
9 deposition will proceed as follows: The majority will be given one  
10 hour to ask questions, then the minority will be given one hour.  
11 Thereafter, we will alternate back and forth between majority and  
12 minority in 45-minute rounds until questioning is complete. We will  
13 take periodic breaks, but if you need a break at any time, please let  
14 us know.

15 Under the House deposition rules, counsel for other persons or  
16 government agencies may not attend the deposition. You are permitted  
17 to have an attorney present during this deposition and I see that you  
18 have brought counsel.

19 At this time, if counsel could please state their appearances for  
20 the record.

21 MR. SHUR: Justin Shur, Emily Damrau, and Caleb Hayes-Deats for  
22 Ms. Williams.

23 MR. GOLDMAN: There is a stenographer taking down everything that  
24 is said here today in order to make a written record of the deposition.  
25 For that record to be clear, please wait until each question is

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1 completed before you begin your answer, and we will wait until you  
2 finish your response before asking you the next question. The  
3 stenographer cannot record nonverbal answers, such as shaking your  
4 head, so it is important that you answer each question with an audible  
5 verbal answer.

6 We ask that you give complete replies to questions, based on your  
7 best recollection. If a question is unclear or you are uncertain in  
8 your response, please let us know. And if you do not know the answer  
9 to a question or cannot remember, simply say so.

10 You may only refuse to answer a question to preserve a privilege  
11 recognized by the committee. If you refuse to answer a question on  
12 the basis of privilege, staff may either continue to proceed with the  
13 deposition, or seek a ruling from the chairman on the objection. If  
14 the chair overrules any such objection, you are required to answer the  
15 question.

16 And finally, you are reminded that it is unlawful to deliberately  
17 provide false information to Members of Congress or staff. It is  
18 imperative that you not only answer our questions truthfully, but that  
19 you give full and complete answers to all questions asked of you.  
20 Omissions may also be considered as false statements.

21 As this deposition is under oath, Ms. Williams, would you please  
22 stand and raise your right hand to be sworn.

23 Do you swear that your testimony provided here today will be the  
24 whole truth and nothing but the truth?

25 MS. WILLIAMS: I do.

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1 MR. GOLDMAN: Thank you. You may be seated.

2 And let the record reflect that the witness has been sworn.

3 Ms. Williams, if you have an opening statement or your attorneys  
4 have any matters to discuss, now is the time.

5 MS. WILLIAMS: I do not have an opening statement today. Thank  
6 you.

7 MR. GOLDMAN: Nothing from the attorney?

8 MR. SHUR: Nothing.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Noble is recognized for one hour.

10 MR. NOBLE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 EXAMINATION

12 BY MR. NOBLE:

13 Q Ms. Williams, you were detailed from the State Department  
14 to the Office of the Vice President in April of this year. Is that  
15 correct?

16 A That is correct.

17 Q Can you just describe briefly your experience, your  
18 government experience prior to being detailed to OVP?

19 A Sure. So I joined the Department of Homeland Security in  
20 2005, shortly after graduating from university, and I served for  
21 Secretary Michael Chertoff for nearly 1 year as a political appointee.  
22 And then during that time, I took the Foreign Service exam and joined  
23 the Foreign Service in 2006.

24 During my nearly 14 years in the Foreign Service, I've done tours,  
25 as mentioned, in Jamaica, Beirut, Lebanon, worked on the Syria

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1 humanitarian crisis for our Refugee Bureau for about 4 years, served  
2 our Deputy Secretary of State covering Middle East and North Africa  
3 policy, did a year of graduate school during that time as well, and  
4 most recently, served for 3 years at our Embassy in London as a Public  
5 Affairs Officer.

6 Q Did you go to the -- to OVP from the Embassy in the U.K.?

7 A Yes, I did.

8 Q And can you just describe briefly your roles and  
9 responsibilities in OVP?

10 A Sure. I am one of the Vice President's Special Advisers on  
11 his foreign policy team. I serve in the National Security Affairs  
12 Office under the command of Lieutenant General Keith Kellogg, who is  
13 the National Security Advisor to the Vice President. In my role, I  
14 cover Europe and Russia issues.

15 So, in that regard, I keep the Vice President aware and abreast  
16 of all foreign policy issues going on in that region, prepare him for  
17 his foreign policy and foreign leader engagements, whether that's by  
18 phone calls or in-person meetings here in Washington, as well as travel  
19 overseas to the European region.

20 Q And does that include matters relating to Ukraine?

21 A It does.

22 Q What is the Vice President's role as it relates to U.S.  
23 relations with our European allies, and Ukraine in particular?

24 A So the Vice President carries out the President's foreign  
25 policy and is a key adviser to the President, as well as a representative

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1       of the government overseas. He often has interactions with foreign  
2       leaders, again, both here in Washington and overseas, often  
3       participates in meetings with the President as well as holds his own  
4       meetings with overseas leaders.

5           In the case of Ukraine, I can only speak to my time since starting  
6       in April, but once President Zelensky was elected in April, the Vice  
7       President elected to make a congratulatory call of his own to the new  
8       leader in order to establish a good relationship with him.

9           And I've kept him up to date on developments in Ukraine throughout  
10      the summer. And as -- as the committees are aware, the Vice President  
11      was asked by the President to go to Poland in early September, where  
12      the Vice President met with President Zelensky for the first time, and  
13      so he -- and has spoken with him by phone after that as well.

14          Q     And you prepped the Vice President for those phone calls and  
15      meetings?

16          A     That's right.

17          Q     We'll go through those as we kind of go through the outline.  
18      In your role, do you communicate directly with any Ukrainian Government  
19      officials?

20          A     Not often. Our Embassy in Kyiv really takes the lead on  
21      that. I was in touch for logistical purposes at various points with  
22      the Ukrainian Embassy here in Washington related to potential visits.

23          And there was a delegation of Ukrainian officials that came to  
24      Washington in July. The group met with my boss, General Kellogg, on  
25      July 9th, and so, I helped facilitate that meeting. But other than

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1       that, I have limited engagement directly with Ukrainian officials.

2           Q    And who do you typically interact with kind of in the  
3       interagency on Ukraine matters? Who are your points of contact at  
4       State, DOD, and the NSC?

5           A    I work probably most closely with my NSC colleagues, with  
6       Lieutenant Colonel Alex Vindman, who's kind of my counterpart on the  
7       NSC, but also with his superiors as well. So previously, Dr. Fiona  
8       Hill, more recently Tim Morrison. At the State Department, with the  
9       Bureau of European Affairs and the office that covers Ukraine policy,  
10      including Deputy Assistant Secretary George Kent, Assistant Secretary  
11      Phil Reeker, and the Ukraine desk team. And then I'm often on email  
12      correspondence with our Embassy colleagues in Kyiv, but not as much  
13      in-person interaction.

14          Q    And who typically do you correspond with at the Embassy in  
15      Kyiv?

16          A    I've been on email correspondence with Ambassador Bill  
17      Taylor. I don't often reach out to him directly. It's usually more  
18      I'm copied on email correspondence on developments going on from the  
19      Embassy's perspective. And, you know, in the lead-up to various  
20      engagements that the Vice President had with Ukrainian officials, I  
21      was in contact with the Embassy during those times.

22          Q    Okay. You referenced a call between President Trump and  
23      President Zelensky in April. I think you said it was a congratulatory  
24      call. Is that right?

25          A    That's right.

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1 Q That's the call on April 21st?

2 A The President's call was April 21st. The Vice President  
3 called Zelensky 2 days later on April 23rd.

4 Q Okay. Did you -- were you involved in prepping the  
5 President for his call on April 21st?

6 A I was not.

7 Q Did you listen in on that call?

8 A No.

9 Q Did you ever get a readout of that call?

10 A I saw the transcript of that call in preparation for the Vice  
11 President's call 2 days later. We wanted to make sure the Vice  
12 President was aware of what the President's conversation had been.

13 Q Do you recall the contents of that call transcript? Was that  
14 like a memcon of the call?

15 A It was a transcript in terms of format very similar to the  
16 one that's been released related to the July call. So similar format.

17 Q Do you recall the substance of the conversation between  
18 President Trump and President Zelensky on April 21st?

19 A I do. It was a relatively brief call, I'd say maybe 10  
20 minutes or so. It was really focused on congratulating President  
21 Zelensky on his victory in the recent Presidential election which had  
22 taken place that day, and looking forward to a good relationship with  
23 him.

24 Q To your knowledge, was there -- or recollection, was there  
25 any reference to any of the investigations into Burisma, the Bidens,

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1 or 2016 during that phone call?

2 A There was not.

3 Q Did you prep the Vice President for his call on, I think you  
4 said April 23rd. Is that right?

5 A I did.

6 Q And what -- did you participate in that call?

7 A I did.

8 Q Can you describe the conversation between Vice President  
9 Pence and President Zelensky?

10 A Sure. It was similar. It was an offer of congratulations  
11 for President Zelensky's recent victory, which was an overwhelming  
12 victory in that race. They talked, again, also about the importance  
13 of the U.S.-Ukraine relationship and how eager we were, the U.S. was,  
14 to see President Zelensky take steps to implement the agenda on which  
15 he had run, which was very much focused on anticorruption, and looking  
16 to really bring Ukraine even closer to the trans-Atlantic and European  
17 community. And there was discussion -- President Zelensky invited  
18 President Trump initially, but there was discussion about Vice  
19 President Pence as well, to his inauguration, but the date of that had  
20 not yet been set.

21 Q Was there discussion -- sorry, going back to President  
22 Trump's call on the 21st, was there any discussion of a possible White  
23 House meeting for President Zelensky, or a meeting with Trump on that  
24 phone call that you can recall?

25 A I don't recall that in that initial April 21st call. I

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1 recall President Zelensky invited President Trump to attend his  
2 inauguration in Kyiv. Again, the date hadn't been set, and the  
3 President acknowledged the invitation without making a commitment on  
4 the phone at that time.

5 Q And did Vice President Pence reference anything relating to  
6 a meeting between President Trump and President Zelensky during his  
7 April 23rd call?

8 A I don't believe so. Again, it was more focused at that time  
9 on the issue of who might attend the inauguration. So President  
10 Zelensky, in the Vice President's call, also extended the invitation  
11 to President Trump or Vice President Pence if the President wasn't  
12 available, and the Vice President looked forward to accepting that  
13 invitation if the dates worked out.

14 Q In preparation for the Vice President's call with President  
15 Zelensky, did anyone at the White House or National Security Council  
16 provide any talking points or other input for the Vice President?

17 A I worked with Lieutenant Colonel Vindman, since he had  
18 prepared the President's briefing papers for his call 2 days prior.  
19 So I wanted to make sure that the substance was in line with U.S. policy,  
20 but not the talking points, per se, for the conversation.

21 Q Following those phone calls and the invitation --

22 THE CHAIRMAN: Can you explain a little more about -- you  
23 mentioned how you prepare the Vice President for the call. How did  
24 you go about doing that?

25 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, sir. So I prepare a briefing memo, providing

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1 draft talking points or suggested talking points for the Vice President  
2 along with background information. I also provided him with a call  
3 of the President's call transcript from 2 days prior, a set of talking  
4 point cards, and then we did a prebrief in person just before the call.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: And what generally were the points that you wanted  
6 the Vice President to communicate during the call.

7 MS. WILLIAMS: First and foremost, congratulations on his  
8 victory and how eager he was to establish a good working relationship  
9 with President Zelensky and his new administration, his new cabinet;  
10 how the Vice President looked forward to seeing President Zelensky  
11 really implement the agenda on which he had ran, had run, related to  
12 anticorruption reforms; talking about reforming the rule of law;  
13 reforming the judiciary; taking steps to remove permanent immunity from  
14 members of Parliament, for example, which had really led to a lot of  
15 corruption in Ukraine over a long period of time; looking at ways to  
16 reform the defense industry in order to really streamline and reduce  
17 waste, and so that we could really increase and enhance our security  
18 relationship; encouraging President Zelensky to continue to push back  
19 against Russian aggression; and, you know, really supporting his  
20 efforts to do so since he had spoken a lot about that during his  
21 campaign. Along those lines.

22 THE CHAIRMAN: And what was the purpose of including the call  
23 record from the President's call in the Vice President's binder?

24 MS. WILLIAMS: I thought it would be useful for the Vice President  
25 to be aware of what the President had conveyed to Zelensky two days

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1 prior.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Noble.

3 BY MR. NOBLE:

4 Q What role does General Kellogg play in helping prepare for  
5 these types of calls?

6 A General Kellogg was present for the call as well as the  
7 prebrief with the Vice President just before the call as well, and he  
8 reviews the talking points and briefing memos that are put forward to  
9 the Vice President.

10 Q That you prepare?

11 A That I prepare.

12 Q It goes to General Kellogg?

13 A That's right.

14 Q How frequently does General Kellogg speak with the Vice  
15 President?

16 A Fairly frequently. I'm often not present for those  
17 engagements, so I couldn't tell you very specifically, but I would say  
18 at least on a daily basis, when the Vice President is not traveling.

19 Q And do you know does General Kellogg have direct  
20 conversations with the President?

21 A I believe he does, but, again, I'm not present for those,  
22 so I couldn't tell you how frequently or on what kind of topics they  
23 discuss.

24 Q And why do you say that they do have direct communications?  
25 How do you know that?

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1           A General Kellogg often will participate in meetings with the  
2 President over in the Oval Office, whether those are more formal foreign  
3 policy engagements or internal staff meetings, including the  
4 President's intelligence briefings. Again, I've never been present  
5 for those, so I can't really speak to what they discuss.

6           Q Does General Kellogg ever tell you about what happens in  
7 those meetings?

8           A Not generally, unless there's some specific detail that  
9 might relate to an upcoming engagement for the Vice President.

10          Q Now, the President and the Vice President's call took place  
11 shortly before Ambassador Yovanovitch was recalled from Kyiv. Do you  
12 recall that?

13          A That's right.

14          Q Is that right?

15          Did you have any sense about what was about to happen to Ambassador  
16 Yovanovitch when those calls were taking place?

17          A I can't recall precisely when I first saw some of the media  
18 reporting, the open source reporting about concerns about Ambassador  
19 Yovanovitch's ongoing position in Ukraine, and how that overlaps with  
20 the precise timing of those two calls, but I do recall seeing within  
21 April, the April timeframe, the media reporting about Ambassador  
22 Yovanovitch.

23          Q And do you recall the substance of the media reporting that  
24 you were seeing at that time?

25          A I recall there being stories about -- about certain

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1 individuals expressing concerns, including Mr. Giuliani, about  
2 Ambassador Yovanovitch and her loyalty to the Trump administration,  
3 but, again, it was all just open source reporting.

4 Q Do you recall who else was speaking about Ambassador  
5 Yovanovitch in the press? You mentioned other persons besides Rudy  
6 Giuliani.

7 A I recall -- and I couldn't give you the precise date -- that  
8 I believe the President's son, Don Jr., at one point retweeted a story  
9 about Ambassador Yovanovitch, but I couldn't tell you the timeline.

10 Q Did you have the opportunity to work with Ambassador  
11 Yovanovitch on Ukraine before she was recalled?

12 A Not directly. She participated in, I believe, a couple of  
13 interagency policy committee meetings, in which I also participated,  
14 and so she was on screen via video teleconference. And so I listened  
15 to her updates from post, but I had never met, and still have never  
16 met her in person.

17 Q Were you familiar with her work in Ukraine, particularly on  
18 anticorruption efforts?

19 A Only vaguely. Before coming to this position in the Vice  
20 President's office, again, I was in our embassy in London and very much  
21 focused on those issues. So I wasn't tracking the Ukraine issue quite  
22 as closely.

23 Q What date did you join OVP?

24 A April 1st.

25 Q Okay. In April, was there any concern within the Office of

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1 the Vice President or the White House more generally about Ambassador  
2 Yovanovitch that you were aware of?

3 A Not that I was aware of.

4 Q Did you ever speak with the Vice President about Ambassador  
5 Yovanovitch before she was recalled?

6 A No, I never had a conversation with the Vice President about  
7 Ambassador Yovanovitch. I believe I included a written update just  
8 reporting on when her final date at post was and some of the press  
9 reporting about her situation in a regular nightly update to the Vice  
10 President, but I never had an in-person conversation.

11 Q What about with General Kellogg, did you ever discuss the  
12 situation with him?

13 A Around that time as well, and I think it was late April when  
14 that news was coming out, I raised some of the media reporting in one  
15 of our regular staff meetings to General Kellogg.

16 Q And what did he -- how did he respond?

17 A We didn't have a fulsome conversation. It was more of I was  
18 just providing him with an update, and he acknowledged that. And  
19 later, I provided him with, you know, a written summary of some of the  
20 media reporting I had seen for his awareness.

21 Q Did you have any discussions with anyone else in the Office  
22 of the Vice President or the White House about these media reports about  
23 Ambassador Yovanovitch, that you can recall?

24 A Around that time -- and, again, I couldn't give you a precise  
25 date -- I recall speaking with Fiona Hill, Dr. Hill, and Lieutenant

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1      Colonel Vindman about the situation before it was clear whether  
2      Ambassador Yovanovitch was going to be recalled. She had been recalled  
3      to Washington for consultations. At that time, it wasn't clear if that  
4      meant she was going to be leaving her post.

5           So I had a conversation with Dr. Hill about the situation, but  
6      basically, we were both just expressing that it was unclear what was  
7      going to happen, and that it seemed like it was a shame that she was  
8      going to be removed from the position.

9           Q     And why do you say it was a shame?

10          A    In -- I think Dr. Hill had worked more closely with  
11      Ambassador Yovanovitch, so that was really more her opinion. But from  
12      what I had known from State Department colleagues, Ambassador  
13      Yovanovitch had served a very dedicated and upstanding career,  
14      including in her time in Kyiv. So we were not aware of any reason that  
15      she would need to be recalled for cause.

16          Q     Were you generally familiar with Ambassador Yovanovitch,  
17      having been in the Foreign Service for so long? Had you heard of her  
18      or her reputation?

19          A    I had heard her name but, to be honest, I had been more focused  
20      on Middle Eastern policy prior to going to London. So my understanding  
21      is she's had more of a focus in Eurasia and Russia, so our paths really  
22      hadn't crossed.

23          Q     Okay. Around that time, had you ever heard of these  
24      associates of Rudy Giuliani, Mr. Parnas, Lev Parnas? Had you heard  
25      that name before?

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1           A    I had not, no.

2           Q    What about Igor Fruman?

3           A    No.

4           Q    Were you familiar with any of their efforts to try to get  
5 Ambassador Yovanovitch removed?

6           A    No. I'd seen the broader media reporting, but I hadn't -- I  
7 was not familiar with those two individuals.

8           Q    Were you familiar, or did you have any awareness of this  
9 dossier of material that was put together about -- it's derogatory  
10 material of Ambassador Yovanovitch that was sent to the State  
11 Department?

12          A    I only became aware of that more recently through other  
13 testimony and other discussions.

14          Q    At the time you --

15          A    No.

16          Q    -- had no awareness that that had been compiled and sent to  
17 the State Department?

18          A    No.

19          Q    Did you -- you said that you informed Vice President Pence  
20 and General Kellogg about the removal of Ambassador Yovanovitch, is  
21 that right, or were they already aware?

22          A    Yes. I had provided a written update to the Vice President  
23 in our regular daily report, just stating that Ambassador Yovanovitch's  
24 last day at post, if I'm correct, was going to be May 6th and that -- and  
25 provided some commentary about some of the media reports surrounding

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1       her removal.

2           I was not aware of any other discussions or information outside  
3       of those channels, and so, I did not provide those. And, again, I had  
4       mentioned it to General Kellogg in a staff meeting.

5           Q    Do you know whether Vice President Pence or General Kellogg  
6       were otherwise aware of the situation involving Ambassador Yovanovitch  
7       or that the President had concerns about her?

8           A    I don't know. I'm not aware.

9           Q    When did you first become aware of Rudy Giuliani's activities  
10      in Ukraine?

11          A    Through media reporting, I want to say probably early in  
12      April, not long after I had started my position. I was aware of some  
13      interviews that he had given regarding his concerns about corruption  
14      and about things going on in Ukraine, but, again, it was all just from  
15      open source reporting.

16          Q    Were you aware of his tweets that he was sending out around  
17      that time?

18          A    I don't follow him on Twitter, so I hadn't seen them myself,  
19      but I had seen them reported in the media.

20          Q    And did you -- did there come a time when you became aware  
21      that he was advocating for Ukraine to initiate certain investigations?

22          A    I think the first media report I recall that was specific  
23      to particular investigations was an interview he did with a Ukrainian  
24      outlet towards the end of May. I want to say May 28th. And I saw that  
25      in a written summary from our Embassy colleagues who do an English

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1 language translation of Ukrainian news on a daily basis.

2 And I noted that in that interview that Mr. Giuliani had given,  
3 he referenced particular investigations that he would like to see the  
4 Ukrainians undertake.

5 Q And which investigations were those?

6 A I believe they related to the 2016 election, and what role,  
7 if any, Ukraine may have played in that, as well as looking into the  
8 situation with former Vice President Biden's son and Burisma.

9 Q And you said that article you saw in late May. Prior to that,  
10 were you aware that Giuliani was pressing for those investigations?

11 A That's the first time I recall seeing those particular  
12 investigations mentioned by Mr. Giuliani in the press.

13 Q Do you recall a New York Times article in early May  
14 that -- where Giuliani announced that he was going to be traveling to  
15 Ukraine to try to meet with President Zelensky about these matters?

16 A I do. I recall that article. I just don't remember if those  
17 particular investigations were mentioned in that article, but yes.

18 Q Okay. It seems like you followed the news about Ukraine  
19 relatively closely after you started in the Office of the Vice  
20 President. Is that fair to say?

21 A I do.

22 Q Did you ever discuss Rudy Giuliani's activities in Ukraine  
23 with General Kellogg?

24 A Not -- not specifically. I had flagged the press coverage  
25 of Mr. Giuliani's statements about what he wanted to see the Ukrainians

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1 do in the context of Ambassador Yovanovitch's removal, but other than  
2 that had no specific discussions with General Kellogg about Mr.  
3 Giuliani.

4 Q What about with the Vice President?

5 A No.

6 Q Did you flag those -- the news articles for the Vice  
7 President?

8 A I had flagged the May 28th Ukrainian interview -- Ukrainian  
9 media interview in a daily update for the Vice President, but had had  
10 no personal conversations with him about it.

11 Q Okay. Did you become aware of Giuliani's interest in having  
12 Ukraine investigate Burisma Holdings?

13 A I believe I became aware of it through that May 28th  
14 interview. Again, I can't recall if it was also mentioned in the New  
15 York Times interview -- or article from several weeks prior.

16 Q And from that article, did you become aware that Burisma was  
17 connected to Hunter Biden at that time?

18 A I believe so, but the reason I hesitate is I still -- the  
19 name Burisma hadn't really resonated with me at that time. I was  
20 more -- I certainly recognized that he was interested in looking into  
21 the role that former Vice President Biden's son had played on the board  
22 of a company.

23 Q Okay. And sometime later, you made the connection that that  
24 company was Burisma?

25 A That's right.

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1           Q     Did you know, you know, at whose direction Giuliani was  
2 working on these matters in Ukraine?

3           A     I did not.

4           Q     Do you know the relationship between the President and  
5 Giuliani?

6           A     Only from what I can see in the press. I've never interacted  
7 with Mr. Giuliani or seen him in person with the President.

8           Q     And what was that relationship?

9           A     According to press reporting, I understood Mr. Giuliani to  
10 be working as the President's personal attorney.

11          Q     Did you ever have any discussions with any of your colleagues  
12 at the NSC about Giuliani's activities in Ukraine?

13          A     Not specifically that I can recall. I think my colleagues  
14 at the NSC were also tracking the press reporting about Mr. Giuliani's  
15 interest in pushing the Ukrainians to undertake certain  
16 investigations, but we never had really substantive conversations on  
17 that issue specifically.

18          Q     You never had -- you discussed concerns about what Giuliani  
19 was up to in Ukraine with Lieutenant Colonel Vindman?

20          A     I think if -- you know, if we're still in the context of  
21 April-May, again, I spoke with Dr. Hill and Lieutenant Colonel Vindman  
22 around the time of Ambassador Yovanovitch's removal, and we had no  
23 specific information, but it seemed related to some of Mr. Giuliani's  
24 statements about concerns about her performance and political leaning.

25                 So, in that context, we discussed it. But, again, I don't recall

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1 any really substantive discussions specifically about Mr. Giuliani.

2 Q Did it raise any kind of red flags for you that you had this  
3 private citizen out in Ukraine, a country that you cover, pressing these  
4 investigations, pressing for the removal of an Ambassador, and you're  
5 kind of just learning about it in press reports?

6 A It wasn't clear at the time what exactly his role was and  
7 how official it might be. Again, not being privy to the relationship  
8 between Mr. Giuliani and the President, it really wasn't clear at that  
9 time, or really throughout the course of the summer, what kind of role  
10 he was playing and in what kind of capacity, and how that might overlap  
11 with our official U.S.-Ukraine foreign policy.

12 Q Or not?

13 A Or not.

14 Q Did you -- do you know whether Vice President Pence ever had  
15 any meetings or phone calls or other communications with Giuliani?

16 A Not to my knowledge.

17 Q What about General Kellogg?

18 A Not to my knowledge.

19 Q Aside from what Rudy Giuliani was up to in Ukraine, were you  
20 aware of any other kind of unofficial or back channel lines of  
21 information that were flowing to the President on Ukraine?

22 A No, no. And, again, for Mr. Giuliani was only through press  
23 reporting.

24 Q Are you familiar with the May 13th meeting between President  
25 Trump and Prime Minister Orban of Hungary?

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1           A    Yes, I am. I believe the Vice President also participated  
2   in that meeting, so I prepared the Vice President for that meeting as  
3   well.

4           Q    Do you know whether there was any discussion about Ukraine  
5   during that meeting?

6           A    I understood that there was from receiving a readout from  
7   NSC colleagues afterwards, but I was not in the meeting.

8           Q    You were not in the meeting?

9           A    No.

10          Q    Okay. Do you recall what the readout said about the  
11   conversation relating to Ukraine?

12          A    I recall NSC colleagues reporting that Mr. Orban had  
13   expressed some concerns about Ukraine, but, to be honest, I don't really  
14   remember specifics of his concerns.

15          Q    Did you or General Kellogg ever participate in any calls or  
16   meetings between President Trump and President Putin where the matter  
17   of Ukraine came up?

18          A    No. And I'm just thinking. I recall seeing a readout of  
19   one of the President's calls with President Putin I believe also in  
20   late May, in which Ukraine had come up, but General Kellogg and I were  
21   not on the call or present for the call.

22          Q    You saw a readout or a memcon of the call?

23          A    That's right.

24          Q    Do you recall what it said about Ukraine?

25          A    I really don't. I'm sorry. I know that it came up in the

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1       context I think of wanting to see a resolution to the ongoing conflict  
2       with Ukraine, but I don't recall the specifics of that part of the  
3       conversation.

4           Q    You don't recall anything about what President Putin may have  
5       said to President Trump about Ukraine?

6           A    I don't.

7           Q    Anything about security assistance, U.S. security  
8       assistance to Ukraine?

9           A    In conversation with President Putin?

10          Q    Yes.

11          A    No.

12          Q    Are you familiar with an NSC staffer named Kash Patel?

13          A    No. I've seen his name come up more recently in press  
14       reporting related to this inquiry, and I've seen -- I've been on email  
15       chains with him. He works in a different directorate than the European  
16       Bureau with whom I work most closely. So I knew his name, but I didn't  
17       know him or what his role was.

18          Q    Do you know whether he had any involvement in Ukraine matters  
19       at the NSC?

20          A    I was not aware that he had any. I've seen press reporting  
21       since that time that indicate that he may have, but --

22          Q    You have no personal knowledge of that?

23          A    No.

24          Q    Are you familiar of whether Mr. Patel ever traveled to Europe  
25       in his current role as the counterterrorism Senior Director at the NSC?

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1           A I'm not aware.

2           Q So I'd like to turn to the inauguration of President Zelensky  
3 in -- I believe that was on May 20th.

4           A Uh-huh.

5           THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any more light you can shed on the  
6 concerns that Orban expressed on Ukraine?

7           MS. WILLIAMS: Mr. Chairman, I'm trying to recall, but I honestly  
8 don't really recall a lot of the detail of what exactly they discussed.  
9 I understand -- I recall that Mr. Orban had some concerns about  
10 Ukraine. There's an ongoing issue that Hungary has been blocking  
11 ongoing NATO cooperation with Ukraine over a very specific issue  
12 related to rights of Hungarians living in Ukraine to speak and be taught  
13 Hungarian language.

14           So a fairly niche issue, but it's something that's important to  
15 President Orban. So I believe that was part of the discussion. But  
16 other than that, since I wasn't in the room, I don't know if there were  
17 more -- you know, further discussion about Ukraine.

18           THE CHAIRMAN: And do you have any sense why Orban would bring  
19 up Ukraine in a conversation with the U.S. President?

20           MS. WILLIAMS: I can't speak to what his motivations might have  
21 been.

22           THE CHAIRMAN: As a general matter, does Mr. Orban take a very  
23 pro-Russia perspective on issues of conflict between the U.S. and  
24 Russia?

25           MS. WILLIAMS: I believe it's fair to say in our experience that

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1      President Orban does tend to -- yes, does tend to have more pro-Russia  
2      views on certain issues.

3            THE CHAIRMAN: And that would include Ukraine?

4            MS. WILLIAMS: I believe that's fair to say.

5            THE CHAIRMAN: And do you know whether there were any commitments  
6      made by the President to Mr. Orban during that conversation vis-a-vis  
7      Ukraine?

8            MS. WILLIAMS: I'm not aware of any.

9            THE CHAIRMAN: And during the call between President Putin and  
10     President Trump, were there any asks by President Putin vis-a-vis  
11     Ukraine?

12          MS. WILLIAMS: I don't recall any.

13          THE CHAIRMAN: Or any commitments made by the President?

14          MS. WILLIAMS: Not to my recollection.

15          THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Noble.

16            BY MR. NOBLE:

17          Q      Was there any discussion in the White House or the Office  
18      of the Vice President about Prime Minister Orban's concerns about  
19      Ukraine?

20          A      Again, to the best of my recollection, in preparation for  
21      that meeting, we were tracking most closely Hungary's concerns about  
22      the rights, as they would say, the rights of the Hungarian population  
23      living in Ukraine. And the U.S. position is -- has always been to try  
24      to encourage Hungary to stop blocking further NATO cooperation with  
25      Ukraine.

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1           And so, for example, I had prepared the Vice President to speak  
2 to that issue if Ukraine came up in the meeting. But, again, I wasn't  
3 in the meeting, so I don't know exactly what was discussed.

4           Q    Do you know whether the Vice President followed those talking  
5 points --

6           A    I don't know.

7           Q    -- you provided for him?

8           A    I don't know if the issue was raised.

9           Q    Before we go to the inauguration, I want to go back to  
10 Giuliani briefly. Did you ever discuss -- I asked you about your  
11 colleagues at NSC, but how about the State Department? Did you ever  
12 discuss with Mr. Kent or Mr. Reeker about Giuliani and what he was up  
13 to in Ukraine?

14          A    No.

15          Q    No, okay.

16          Aside from President Putin, Prime Minister Orban, are you aware  
17 of any other conversations President Trump had with any foreign leader  
18 relating to Ukraine, aside from President Zelensky?

19          A    In that particular timeframe?

20          Q    Yeah. Or ever, since then, since you joined OVP.

21          A    I mean, I would say that Ukraine is a shared priority country  
22 for a number of our Western European allies. And so, I can't recall  
23 specifically, but I believe that the President has spoken with  
24 President Macron and the Prime Ministers of the U.K., at the time  
25 Theresa May, more recently Boris Johnson, and others about, for

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1 example, European efforts to work towards, you know, implementation  
2 of the Normandy process in order to find resolution to the ongoing  
3 conflict in Ukraine. So I believe it's come up in that context with  
4 other leaders, but I couldn't tell you specific dates or conversations.

5 Q Okay. So you said, during the April 21st call with President  
6 Trump, April 23rd with Vice President Pence, President Zelensky raised  
7 the invitation to come to his inauguration. Is that right?

8 A That's right.

9 Q Can you describe the -- kind of the followup from those phone  
10 calls, leading up to the inauguration on May 20th, specifically, like  
11 whether -- discussions about whether the President would attend,  
12 whether Vice President Pence would attend, or who would represent the  
13 United States at the inauguration?

14 A Sure. So shortly after the President's April 21st  
15 conversation, I learned through email from our chief of staff that the  
16 President had asked the Vice President to attend the inauguration.  
17 Again, at that time the date of the inauguration had not yet been set.

18 Q Can I pause you for a second?

19 A Of course.

20 Q You mentioned chief of staff. Do you mean Mick Mulvaney or  
21 the Vice President's chief of staff?

22 A The Vice President's chief of staff.

23 Q And who is that?

24 A Marc Short.

25 Q I'm sorry, I interrupted. I just wanted to get a name on

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1 the record.

2 A No, that's okay. That's fine completely.

3 So I learned from our chief of staff, Marc Short, that we should  
4 start planning for the Vice President to possibly participate  
5 if -- again, if the dates worked out.

6 One of the scheduling constraints that we were looking at was,  
7 our understanding at the time, was that the Ukrainians were looking  
8 to have the inauguration towards the end of May, maybe early June was  
9 the best information that our Embassy colleagues in Kyiv had at the  
10 time.

11 President Trump was going to be traveling overseas, both at the  
12 end of May and early in June, so there was a very narrow window in which  
13 the Vice President would be able to travel overseas, in order to avoid  
14 a double absence.

15 So, from a scheduling perspective, we were planning, but it really  
16 would depend on when the Ukrainians decided to nail down the specific  
17 date. So we started that kind of planning process, just in  
18 hypothetical terms, I suppose.

19 Q And do you know who recommended that Vice President Pence  
20 attend the inauguration, whose idea it was?

21 A My understanding from our chief of staff, Marc Short, was  
22 that the President asked the Vice President to attend shortly after  
23 the President's phone call with President Zelensky on April 21st.

24 Q And was the Vice President amenable to that? Was he  
25 enthusiastic about going to show support for Zelensky, or what was his

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1 attitude?

2 A I wasn't present when he was asked specifically, so I can't  
3 really speak to that. But I can say that in the phone call that the  
4 Vice President had 2 days later, obviously, the issue of the  
5 inauguration came up as well, and the Vice President accepted that  
6 invitation from President Zelensky, and looked forward to being able  
7 to attend, again, if the dates worked out.

8 Q Can you explain why Vice President Pence did not attend,  
9 ended up not attending?

10 A My understanding was on May 13th, at some time in the morning,  
11 I received a phone call from our chief of staff's office from one of  
12 my colleagues saying that the Vice President would not be attending  
13 the inauguration.

14 Q And who was that colleague?

15 A I believe it was the chief of staff's assistant.

16 Q And why wasn't Vice President Pence going to attend? Had  
17 he received further direction from somebody at the White House?

18 A My understanding from my colleague -- and, again, I wasn't  
19 there for the conversation -- was that the President asked the Vice  
20 President not to attend.

21 Q Do you know did that phone call from Mr. Short's office come  
22 before or after the meeting with Prime Minister Orban that day? That  
23 was May 13th, right, you said?

24 A It was. I don't recall precisely what time the Orban meeting  
25 took place. I recall that I spoke to my colleague in the chief of

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1 staff's office somewhere after 11 a.m., around that timeframe, maybe  
2 11:15, 11:30. But I don't recall what time the Orban meeting was.

3 Q After it was decided that Vice President Pence was not going  
4 to attend the inauguration, were you involved any further at that point  
5 in helping prep the delegation that ended up going?

6 A So when I learned that the Vice President would not be  
7 attending, I called my NSC colleagues. I called Lieutenant Colonel  
8 Vindman to let him know that the Vice President was not able to attend,  
9 since it was really the National Security Council's responsibility to  
10 then form a U.S. delegation. So I wanted them to know that.

11 And then since we had already started making initial steps towards  
12 the Vice President's travel to Ukraine for that possible event, I  
13 alerted State Department and Embassy Kyiv colleagues that the Vice  
14 President would not be attending, and then referred them to the NSC  
15 for further discussion about a U.S. delegation.

16 THE CHAIRMAN: I'm going to just follow up. I just want to see  
17 if I can go through the dates with you. What date was it that you  
18 learned from Marc Short that the President wanted the Vice President  
19 to attend the inauguration?

20 MS. WILLIAMS: April 21st.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: And what date did you learn from the assistant to  
22 Mr. Short that the President now wanted him not to attend?

23 MS. WILLIAMS: May 13th.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: So at some point between April 21st and May 13th,  
25 the directive from the President changed from wanting him to attend

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1 to not wanting him to attend. Is that right?

2 MS. WILLIAMS: Those are the dates on which I was informed. I  
3 can't really speak to the -- to what the directive may have been, but  
4 it would appear so.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: Were you ever given a reason for the President's  
6 change of mind on this?

7 MS. WILLIAMS: No.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: And up until the directive was given for the Vice  
9 President not to attend, were preparations being made for the Vice  
10 President to attend?

11 MS. WILLIAMS: They were. We were making preparations. But,  
12 again, since the date hadn't actually been selected, it was very  
13 preliminary. We hadn't gotten very far.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: But it was the Vice President's intention,  
15 assuming that it worked with his calendar, to follow the President's  
16 recommendation that he attend?

17 MS. WILLIAMS: That's right.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Noble.

19 BY MR. NOBLE:

20 Q At that point, had you had any interactions with the  
21 Ambassador to the EU, Gordon Sondland?

22 A I don't believe I had at that point, no.

23 Q And were you aware of how he came to be added to the  
24 delegation?

25 A I saw his name on the final list of the delegation members,

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1       but since at that point, the Vice President wasn't involved, I wasn't  
2       personally involved in the discussions of who would be part of that  
3       delegation.

4           Q     After the trip, did you get a readout of the various meetings  
5       that occurred in Kyiv from, like, Alexander Vindman or anyone else?

6           A     I did. While the delegation was on the ground for the May  
7       20th inauguration, Alex Vindman had sent some email updates regarding  
8       their meetings, and it sounded like they had been very successful, that  
9       the delegation, which ended up being led by Secretary Perry, had been  
10      very impressed with President Zelensky. And I understood from that  
11      communication that the delegation was eager to come back and meet with  
12      the President to convey what they had heard from the Ukrainians.

13          Q     Did Alex Vindman tell you about any conversations he had with  
14      President Zelensky while he was on the ground in Kyiv?

15          A     I'm sorry, conversations with whom?

16          Q     Sorry. Yeah, I'll say it again. Did Alexander Vindman tell  
17      you about any conversations that he had with President Zelensky during  
18      the inauguration activities in Kyiv?

19          A     Just the two of them?

20          Q     The two of them, or in front of other people, the meetings  
21      with Zelensky.

22          A     The readout I received from Lieutenant Colonel Vindman was  
23      describing the delegation's meeting with President Zelensky. So it  
24      was really describing the conversation that the whole group had had.

25          Q     Did he say anything about the issue of advising President

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1        Zelensky to stay out of U.S. domestic politics come up?

2            A    Whether that issue had come up?

3            Q    Whether that had come up.

4            A    I don't recall that coming up in the context of those meetings  
5        in Ukraine for the inauguration. But, to be honest, I just don't recall  
6        precisely.

7            Q    So you got a readout from Lieutenant Colonel Vindman. How  
8        about anybody else, any other members of the delegation?

9            A    Not specifically. I'm trying to think if, perhaps, George  
10      Kent had sent a separate email, but I don't believe so.

11          Q    Just going back to the Vice President's potential trip there,  
12      are you aware of whether Vice President Pence had any scheduling  
13      conflicts that would have prevented him from attending the inauguration  
14      on May 20th?

15          A    Well, again, when the directive -- when the discussion on  
16      May 13th took place, the date for the actual inauguration had not yet  
17      been set. So it was not possible for us to say at that time whether  
18      there was going to be a scheduling conflict. Once it was set 3 days  
19      later, I just don't recall what was on the Vice President's schedule  
20      for May 20th in the end, since we had already known that he wasn't going  
21      to be attending.

22          Q    Okay. Now, did you come to be aware -- I'm going to ask you  
23      some questions about Ambassador Sondland. Did you come to be aware  
24      that he was involved in Ukraine matters at some point?

25          A    I recall -- I imagine -- I think my first awareness of

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1 Ambassador Sondland's involvement would have been when I saw that he  
2 was participating in the delegation to attend the inauguration.

3 Q Had you ever met or spoke with him before that?

4 A No.

5 Q And did you have an understanding of why Ambassador Sondland,  
6 as the Ambassador to the EU, was now involved in Ukraine?

7 A I didn't know specifically, no.

8 Q Did you ever come to learn why?

9 A No.

10 Q Did that strike you as odd, or --

11 A I guess I assumed just because the EU is also very involved  
12 in Ukraine, and has made it a foreign policy priority for the European  
13 Union to also foster a good relationship with Ukraine, and were also  
14 very eager to see the new President Zelensky administration come in,  
15 I assumed it was related to that, but I didn't know specifically.

16 Q You weren't aware of whether he had been tasked by the  
17 President to play some role in Ukraine?

18 A No.

19 Q Did you ever discuss Ambassador Sondland's role in Ukraine  
20 with General Kellogg?

21 A No.

22 Q Or with the Vice President?

23 A No.

24 Q How about your colleagues at NSC?

25 A Not in terms of his role and why he was involved. More

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1 related to, you know, again, that he was going to be part of the  
2 delegation, and then also, a part of the debriefing with the President  
3 after the return of the delegation after the inauguration, but no  
4 specific conversations with them about Ambassador Sondland's role.

5 Q Who did you discuss Ambassador Sondland's participation in  
6 the delegation and the debrief with the President at NSC?

7 A It was in regular conversation with Lieutenant Colonel  
8 Vindman about the -- the effort to put together the final delegation  
9 list, just so I could keep my office informed of that process. And  
10 then I flagged for Alex Vindman, upon the group's return, that if the  
11 Vice President were available, he would probably want to be part of  
12 that debrief since he hadn't been present for the meetings with  
13 President Zelensky. I -- if I recall correctly, I don't believe the  
14 Vice President was actually in that meeting in the end.

15 Q And that's the debrief that occurred on May 23rd?

16 A That's right.

17 Q Were you involved in the debrief at all?

18 A No.

19 Q You were generally aware that it was happening?

20 A I was aware that it was happening, yeah.

21 Q I mean, as somebody who follows Ukraine for the Vice  
22 President, I mean, were you -- did you get a readout from the May 23rd  
23 meeting what happened in the Oval Office?

24 A Not a detailed readout. Again, I was in regular contact with  
25 Lieutenant Colonel Vindman about, you know, kind of next steps on our

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1 Ukraine policy. And I understood that that meeting had taken place  
2 and that the delegation had come back from Ukraine with a very positive  
3 view of President Zelensky, but I didn't get a detailed readout of how  
4 that meeting had gone.

5 Q Were you aware of whether Lieutenant Colonel Vindman  
6 participated in the debrief in the Oval Office or not?

7 A I don't know, to be honest. I don't think he did, but I'm  
8 not 100 percent sure.

9 Q Do you know why he did not participate?

10 A I don't.

11 Q Did you speak with anybody else about what happened in the  
12 Oval Office on May 23rd?

13 A No. No conversations, no.

14 Q Were you aware of how President Trump reacted to the  
15 delegation's recommendations upon their return?

16 A No. I never got a detailed readout of the meeting.

17 Q Did you ever have any communications with Ambassador Volker  
18 relating to Ukraine?

19 A Not me personally. I was on some email chains in which he  
20 was a part of those conversations as well, but no.

21 Q Did you ever participate in any meetings with Ambassador  
22 Volker?

23 A I did. I don't recall the precise date, but I want to say  
24 maybe early May, Ambassador Volker had a regular series of video  
25 conferences with his French and German, maybe British, but I think

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1 mostly French and German counterparts to -- it was kind of a small group  
2 that were all pushing towards progress in the Normandy process.

3 And so they were just kind of comparing notes on what each of those  
4 countries had taken away from initial engagements with the Zelensky  
5 administration. So I recall I joined one of those video conferences  
6 that Ambassador Volker chaired at some point in May. I can't recall  
7 the date.

8 Q But never had any direct conversations with him about matters  
9 relating to Ukraine?

10 A No.

11 Q Did either Ambassador Volker or Ambassador Sondland ever  
12 contact the Office of the Vice President or have any communications  
13 with the Vice President, to your knowledge?

14 A Not to my knowledge.

15 Q What about with General Kellogg, either of the Ambassadors?

16 A Not to my knowledge.

17 Q Were you at all aware of Ambassador Volker and Ambassador  
18 Sondland's communications with Rudy Giuliani --

19 A No.

20 Q -- beginning in or around July of 2019?

21 A No, I was not aware.

22 Q So you had no idea that they were talking to Rudy Giuliani  
23 about Ukraine matters?

24 A No.

25 Q Did you ever have any interactions with Ambassador Bolton

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1 or Dr. Kupperman?

2 A About Ukraine?

3 Q Relating to Ukraine or -- or more generally, what was your  
4 kind of -- you interacted with Alexander Vindman and you said  
5 Mr. Morrison and Dr. Hill sometimes. Did you ever have any  
6 interactions with kind of their superiors at the NSC?

7 A Not one-on-one interactions. I participated in several  
8 meetings that either Ambassador Bolton or Dr. Kupperman chaired, but  
9 no personal conversations with them. The closest I had was probably  
10 when Ambassador Bolton participated in a prebrief with the Vice  
11 President in -- on September 1st in Poland.

12 Q Okay. We'll talk a little bit about that when we get there.

13 Okay.

14 Now, you said you had -- you were at least on some emails with  
15 Ambassador Taylor relating to Ukraine. Is that right?

16 A That's right.

17 Q Was anybody in the Office of the Vice President, you or anyone  
18 else, in communication with Ambassador Taylor before he was sent back  
19 to Kyiv in June?

20 A No, not prior to -- no.

21 Q Were you aware at all that he was going to be appointed Charge  
22 d'affaires for Ukraine?

23 A I had heard his name. I couldn't tell you precisely when,  
24 but I had heard that there was discussion of sending him out there.  
25 And I had -- I didn't know him personally. I had heard that he was

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1       a prior -- a previous Ambassador to Ukraine, and a very well-respected  
2       foreign service officer, so -- but I didn't know him personally.

3           Q     Following the delegation to the inauguration and the meeting  
4       in the Oval Office on May 23rd, were you aware of a letter that President  
5       Trump sent to President Zelensky, which included an invitation to come  
6       visit the White House?

7           A     Yes, I was aware of the letter.

8           Q     Was that letter circulated in advance to the Office of the  
9       Vice President?

10          A     No. My understanding was that NSC colleagues had done an  
11       initial draft of a letter, of a congratulations letter. I believe the  
12       initial plan was that Secretary Perry would take the signed letter with  
13       him to deliver it in person, but I believe it wasn't signed before they  
14       left, so that hadn't occurred.

15           And I believe there was discussion in the Oval Office meeting on  
16       the 23rd about the letter, but, again, I wasn't there so I don't know  
17       what they discussed precisely.

18          Q     Do you know how an invitation to the White House got added  
19       to that letter?

20          A     I don't. My understanding afterwards, after it was signed  
21       from some email correspondence, was that Ambassador Sondland was  
22       certainly supportive of extending an invitation to Zelensky in that  
23       letter. But, again, I wasn't privy to the conversation, so I don't  
24       know what the discussion was back and forth on that issue.

25          Q     Did you ever have any discussions with General Kellogg or

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1       the Vice President about whether or not to support a visit for President  
2       Zelensky to the White House?

3           A    I don't believe so, no specific conversations with either  
4       about that issue.

5           Q    Were you familiar with whether or not they were supportive  
6       of that idea or not supportive?

7           A    I believe in general, they were supportive of fostering a  
8       good strong working relationship with President Zelensky, but, to my  
9       recollection, I don't recall ever having a specific conversation about  
10      offering a White House visit to President Zelensky.

11          Q    Did you take any steps to try to help schedule the meeting?

12          A    I was not involved in that process. NSC really leads that  
13       process. I was aware that NSC had, you know, through the normal  
14       administrative processes put forward a scheduling proposal for that  
15       to go -- to be considered by the schedulers. But the Office of the  
16       Vice President was not involved in that process.

17          Q    Were you, though, generally supportive of a meeting between  
18       President Trump and President Zelensky?

19          A    I was.

20          Q    Were you aware of any role that Ambassador Volker or  
21       Ambassador Sondland or Rudy Giuliani were playing in whether or not  
22       to schedule a meeting with President Trump and President Zelensky?

23          A    No, I was not.

24          Q    At the time?

25          A    At the time, no.

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1           Q     Did you have any discussions with your colleagues at the NSC  
2     about scheduling the meeting?

3           A     I don't recall any specific discussions on that issue, other  
4     than I was aware that they certainly were supportive of the meeting  
5     being scheduled as well.

6                 Within the course of our interagency policy coordination process,  
7     our regular meetings on Ukraine with interagency colleagues, once the  
8     letter -- once the President's letter had been signed that offered the  
9     meeting, it was discussed on a number of occasions what would be the  
10    most opportune date for a White House meeting to take place.

11               My recollection is that agencies were generally supportive of  
12    waiting until after the Ukraine parliamentary elections on July 21st  
13    were over, just to see how those went and to make sure that it wasn't  
14    interfering at all with that political process. But other than that,  
15    I don't recall any specific discussions about scheduling the meeting.

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1 [10:35 a.m.]

2 BY MR. NOBLE:

3 Q Okay. You mentioned kind of interagency coordination on  
4 Ukraine. Were you aware of a June 18th meeting and conference call  
5 that was held from Secretary Perry's office on June 18th?

6 A No.

7 Q What about a June 28th conference call involving Ambassadors  
8 Volker, Sondland, Taylor, and Secretary Perry?

9 A No.

10 Q Are you aware that they spoke with President Zelensky later  
11 that day?

12 A I was not aware of that, no.

13 Q Are you at all familiar with Ambassador Volker's and Mr.  
14 Kent's trip to Toronto on July 2nd and 3rd where they met with President  
15 Zelensky?

16 A I am aware that they participated in the Toronto -- the  
17 Ukraine Reform Conference that took place in Toronto on those dates,  
18 yes.

19 Q Did you speak with either of them in advance of those  
20 meetings?

21 A Not with those two individuals, no.

22 Q Did you ever get a read-out of what happened in Toronto?

23 A No, not precisely. There had been an original discussion  
24 whether the Vice President would participate in that conference, but  
25 he did not because of a scheduling conflict, so after that I really

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1       wasn't involved in that process.

2           Q    Why was the Vice President possibly going to participant in  
3   the Toronto conference?  Is that something that the Vice President  
4   normally would attend?  Is that that type of conference?

5           A    Not normally, but we thought it might be a good opportunity  
6   for the Vice President to meet President Zelensky in person since he  
7   hadn't had a chance to do that at that time or at that point.

8           In the end, though, it really just didn't make sense logistically  
9   since the Vice President had just been in Canada several weeks prior,  
10   and the conference itself really wasn't at the Vice President's level,  
11   it was a ministerial level.

12          Q    Are you aware of whether Ambassador Volker had kind of a  
13   one-on-one separate and apart with President Zelensky in Toronto?  Did  
14   you ever hear anything about that?

15          A    I understood that they were planning to have a -- well, I  
16   didn't know if it was a one-on-one -- but that the group that ended  
17   up going to the conference planned to meet with Zelensky separate from  
18   the conference, but I wasn't really involved in either the planning  
19   for that or any of the read-outs afterwards.

20          Q    Are you familiar with meetings that took place at the White  
21   House on July 10th involving Ukrainian officials Andrey Yermak and  
22   Oleksandr Danylyuk?

23          A    I am aware of them because my boss, General Kellogg, met with  
24   the group on the day before, on July 9th, but I was not involved at  
25   all in the July 10th meeting.

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1           Q    Let's talk a little bit about the July 9th meeting.  What  
2    was the purpose of the meeting between General Kellogg and the  
3    Ukrainians?

4           A    Alex Vindman was helping coordinate the Ukrainian  
5    delegation's engagements in Washington.  So he had alerted me that the  
6    group was coming, and we thought it would be a useful discussion for  
7    General Kellogg to have, as well, to get to know the group, and to hear,  
8    you know, the latest of what President Zelensky's administration was  
9    doing on a range of issues.  So I arranged a meeting to take place on  
10   July 9th.

11          Q    And where did that take place?

12          A    In General Kellogg's office.

13          Q    Who participated?

14          A    For the U.S. side it was General Kellogg, Alex Vindman, and  
15    myself.

16          Q    And what was the discussion?

17          A    It was a very positive discussion, probably about 30,  
18    40 minutes, about the status.  It was very security-focused,  
19    obviously.  Secretary Danylyuk was at the time the national security  
20    advisor to President Zelensky.  So it was more focused on the situation  
21    with the conflict with Russia, you know, what steps the Zelensky  
22    administration was considering in terms of making progress in those  
23    negotiations, and, generally speaking, about the U.S.-Ukraine  
24    relationship, but not about anything more specific than that.

25          Q    Did a topic of a White House meeting for President Zelensky

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1 ever come up in that meeting?

2 A Not to my recollection.

3 Q Anything about security assistance?

4 A Not security assistance --

5 Q U.S. security assistance to Ukraine?

6 A Right. Right. No, just broadly about kind of the  
7 U.S.-Ukraine security assistance relationship, but not about any  
8 specific assistance funding, if that makes sense.

9 Q Now, you said Danylyuk was the national security advisor to  
10 President Zelensky. Are you aware he's since resigned --

11 A Yes.

12 Q -- or is no longer in that position?

13 A Yes.

14 Q Do you know the circumstances of that, why he is no longer  
15 serving as national security advisor?

16 A I don't know specifically, and I can't recall exactly when  
17 it was either. I want to say end of September.

18 Q Did you have any involvement in the meetings the next day,  
19 on July 10th, with Danylyuk and Yermak?

20 A I did not.

21 Q You weren't in Ambassador Bolton's office?

22 A No.

23 Q Were you aware that there was a second meeting in the Ward  
24 Room?

25 A No.

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1 Q You know nothing about either of those meetings?

2 A No. I mean, I knew that they were coming in the next day  
3 to meet with Ambassador Bolton, but I was not a part of them.

4 Q Did you ever speak with Alexander Vindman or Dr. Hill about  
5 what happened in those meetings?

6 A No.

7 Q No.

8 A No. I assumed it would have been a similar conversation to  
9 what we had had the day before, so I never reached out to get a specific  
10 read-out.

11 Q And they never told you about what had happened?

12 A No.

13 Q Or that they had concerns about what had happened in those  
14 meetings?

15 A No.

16 Q Okay. When did you first learn of the hold on Ukraine  
17 security assistance -- U.S. security assistance to Ukraine?

18 A I believe it was July 3rd.

19 Q And how did you learn about it?

20 A I saw an email -- or, I suppose, a written update,  
21 electronically, that was drafted by Alex Vindman,  
22 reporting -- internally reporting that the State Department had  
23 notified him that OMB was not clearing the latest round of congressional  
24 notification documents to move the next tranche of security assistance  
25 for Ukraine.

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1 Q Do you recall who else was on that email?

2 A It was really an internal update that Alex had drafted that  
3 I'm part of the distribution list for, but it was just within the NSC  
4 Europe team.

5 Q Okay. And that's the distribution list, is the NSC Europe  
6 team?

7 A Well, it's in preparation for a nightly update for the  
8 national security advisor. So the national security advisor would  
9 have eventually received it. But what I saw was an email just as the  
10 product was being crafted for the day.

11 Q Okay. Prior to that July 3rd email, did you have any inkling  
12 that the U.S. security assistance was going to be put on hold?

13 A No.

14 Q Had there been any discussions about it at the NSC to your  
15 knowledge?

16 A No.

17 Q Had you heard anything about it from OMB?

18 A No.

19 Q No. So this kind of came out of the blue?

20 A It did.

21 Q In the email did Alex Vindman provide any reason or relay  
22 any reason as to why OMB hadn't cleared the State funds?

23 A No. At that time it was unclear. I believe that the  
24 note -- the update indicated that OMB was holding the assistance in  
25 order to conduct a further review to ensure that the security assistance

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1       was still in line with administration priorities.

2           Q    Is that what it said in the email?

3           A    That's what it said in the email.

4           Q    And did Alex Vindman say where he got that information from?

5           A    I believe the State Department had reported it to him because  
6       that's what OMB had told the State Department. I don't know which  
7       individuals were involved in that.

8           Q    And you said that email was in preparation for a nightly  
9       update to the national security advisor?

10          A    That's right.

11          Q    That's John Bolton?

12          A    Correct.

13          Q    Would you also prepare a nightly update for General Kellogg  
14       or for the Vice President and include such information?

15          A    We do a daily product. I chose not to include that update  
16       on that date because it just wasn't really clear at that time what the  
17       reason might have been for the hold, whether it was maybe just more  
18       of an administrative or technical issue. And, generally speaking, I  
19       don't keep the Vice President informed of that level of detail.

20          MR. NOBLE: Okay. I think my time is up, so I'll turn it over  
21       to my Republican colleagues.

22          THE CHAIRMAN: One hour for the minority.

23          MR. CASTOR: Thank you.

24            BY MR. CASTOR:

25          Q    When was the inauguration date finally set by the Ukrainian

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1      Parliament --

2            A    May 16th.

3            Q    -- the Rada?

4            A    Sorry. May 16th.

5            Q    And the inaugural was on May 20th?

6            A    That's right.

7            Q    So there were 4 days in between the --

8            A    Yes. Yes. It was a very short notice turnaround in the end.

9         We had been told essentially it was because the Ukrainian Parliament  
10      needed to come back into session in order to officially confirm the  
11      inauguration date, and it wasn't clear what date President Zelensky  
12      would end up recommending to the Parliament. We had been told that  
13      they were looking at the end of May window, but in the end they decided  
14      to move it up to May 20th.

15        Q    Between the time period of April 21st, when you first learned  
16      that the VP may be going to the inaugural, and the date of the inaugural,  
17      what types of communications had you been having with the folks in Kyiv?

18        A    Just regular email correspondence just to hear what they were  
19      hearing from the Ukrainians about what dates were maybe under  
20      consideration.

21        But we all recognized that we would not have a final date  
22      determined until, I believe it was the week of May 13th when the  
23      Ukrainian Parliament came back into session. So it was speculation  
24      based on their communications with the Ukrainian officials.

25        Q    Okay. So you knew it would be May 13th?

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1           A    Yes, but we would have to wait until that week to know for  
2   sure when the inauguration date would be set.

3           Q    You mentioned the President was traveling. I believe he was  
4   in Japan and then he was going to Europe.

5           A    That's right.

6           Q    You said that you were trying to fit the VP into that space  
7   when the President would be in the U.S. Is that correct?

8           A    That's correct. So we had informed the Ukrainians that if  
9   they wanted the Vice President to attend, the ideal dates for us would  
10   have been May 29th, May 30th, or June 1st, and if it wasn't one of those  
11   dates it would be very difficult or impossible.

12          Q    Knowing that you wouldn't have certainty until May 13th or  
13   14th or 15th or 16th, did the VP's office take any affirmative steps  
14   to plan the trip?

15          A    We did. I had been in touch with our advance colleagues,  
16   the team that manages the Vice President's travel, so that they could  
17   at least have initial conversations with their embassy counterparts  
18   on, you know, logistical arrangements in terms of hotel availability  
19   and security and those type of things. But it was still very much  
20   preliminary since we didn't have a date.

21          Q    Do you know if they reserved any hotels or made --

22          A    I believe -- I can't speak to the specifics since I was not  
23   involved, but from the email chains that I saw, I believe they were  
24   exploring availability of hotel dates. I don't know what steps were  
25   taken to make any reservations.

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1           Q    Do you know if the Secret Service deployed for their advance  
2   work?

3           A    The main conversation I was having with our advance  
4   colleagues at that time was they were very eager to send out Secret  
5   Service and other advance colleagues as soon as possible so they could  
6   do proper planning. And so that was the ongoing discussion up until  
7   May 13th, was when can we send out the advance team since we just didn't  
8   know.

9           Q    Do you know if the advance team deployed?

10          A    I don't know. I don't believe they did in the end, but I'm  
11       not 100 percent confident.

12          Q    You don't know if any hotels were actually booked or  
13       reserved?

14          A    I believe they were just exploring availability of hotels  
15       since we still didn't have a firm date.

16          Q    Okay. Would the Vice President have been able to attend on  
17       May 20th?

18          A    As I mentioned, I don't really recall at this time what was  
19       on his schedule for May 20th. Obviously, in the end, it was a very  
20       short notice, so it would have been difficult, particularly since we  
21       hadn't sent out the advance team, as far as I recall. But I just don't  
22       recall what was on his schedule that day.

23          Q    But the window you had provided to the Ukrainians was May  
24       29th, 30th, 31st?

25          A    That's correct, right, and June 1st, because that was the

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1 window we were expecting them to be aiming for.

2 Q Okay.

3 A To be honest, we hadn't really looked that closely at the  
4 Vice President's schedule before the President's trip at the end of  
5 May just because we weren't expecting the Ukrainians to look at that  
6 timeframe.

7 Q Okay. And when you -- you mentioned that you heard from Marc  
8 Short, one of Marc Short's staffers?

9 A That's right.

10 Q And what did that person tell you on May 13th?

11 A It was a phone call, so I don't recall the precise language.  
12 But I recall being advised that the Vice President would not be  
13 attending the inauguration. I recall -- I believe I asked, why not?  
14 And I was told that the President had told him not to go.

15 Q Okay. But you never had any firsthand knowledge from  
16 anybody other than this person?

17 A Correct, I never had --

18 Q What function does this person perform?

19 A She is an assistant to Marc Short, our Chief of Staff, and  
20 is very much involved in the scheduling of the Vice President's  
21 schedule.

22 Q Okay. Did you ever have any follow-ups with anybody about  
23 the decision of the VP not to travel?

24 A The only conversation I had was, immediately after learning  
25 that information, I called my NSC counterparts to let them know just

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1 so they could start planning next steps.

2 Q But did you have a conversation with General Kellogg?

3 A No. I don't recall. I probably let him know what I had  
4 heard, because I don't believe he was involved in that conversation  
5 either.

6 Q Okay.

7 A But no followup discussion as to the reason why.

8 Q Okay. Any other communications with any other VP office  
9 staff?

10 A Around that same time of the initial phone call, I also was  
11 in touch with our head of advance to let him know, since he needed to  
12 turn off the trip planning process and alert his colleagues.

13 Q Okay. And then did you also communicate back to Kyiv that  
14 the VP was unable to --

15 A I did later that day. I sent an email to State Department  
16 and Embassy Kyiv colleagues to let them know that the Vice President  
17 would not be attending.

18 Q And do you know what you said?

19 A I believe my language was that the Vice President would not  
20 be able to attend. And then I put them in touch with NSC colleagues  
21 for further steps on who would be included in the U.S. delegation once  
22 the date was set.

23 MR. PERRY: Ma'am, if I could ask -- down here at  
24 the -- Representative Perry from Pennsylvania. What's the normal, if  
25 there is a normal lead time or a bracket of a normal lead time for a

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1 Vice Presidential visit overseas?

2 MS. WILLIAMS: Sir, obviously, the more notice the better.

3 MR. PERRY: Sure. I get that.

4 MS. WILLIAMS: I will say, for example, when the Vice President  
5 very recently went to Turkey, we got notice of that 48 hours out. So  
6 it's possible to obviously do these on short notice.

7 But, on the other hand, for the Vice President's trip in early  
8 September, which originally was meant to be the U.K., Iceland, and  
9 Ireland, we had started that planning process months in advance.

10 So ideally, obviously, the more notice the better.

11 MR. PERRY: Okay. Thank you.

12 MS. WILLIAMS: Of course.

13 BY MR. CASTOR:

14 Q Turning to the July 25th call between the President and  
15 President Zelensky. You were in the Situation Room?

16 A Yes, sir.

17 Q Present for that call?

18 A That's right.

19 Q And do you remember who else was in the room with you?

20 A I recall my boss General Kellogg was there, Lieutenant  
21 Colonel Vindman, and Tim Morrison, the Senior Director for Europe for  
22 NSC. I recall there were maybe one or two other NSC colleagues present,  
23 but I honestly don't remember which ones. We had a number of calls  
24 that week, and I just don't recall who exactly was in that one.

25 Q And was that the first time you had been on a Presidential

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1 phone call?

2 A No.

3 Q Okay. And how many calls have you participated in?

4 A Oh, probably a dozen since I started in April.

5 Q Okay. And do you know how the transcript is prepared?

6 A I don't know the mechanics behind how it's prepared, no.

7 Q Okay. What do you know about it?

8 A I mean, we the Vice President's office, will get a copy of  
9 the transcripts after -- once it's prepared so that we can provide a  
10 copy to the Vice President. But I don't know anything about the process  
11 of preparing that transcript.

12 I imagine it's similar to how we receive transcripts for the Vice  
13 President's calls. In that instance our office, our administrative  
14 team will receive the electronic draft from the White House Situation  
15 Room and look at it for -- mainly to mark the classification levels  
16 of the paragraphs, but also to check for accuracy.

17 Q Okay. So the White House Situation Room personnel prepares  
18 the initial draft?

19 A I don't know precisely, but that's who we receive it from.

20 Q Okay. You don't know if they have court reporter-type  
21 devices --

22 A I don't know.

23 Q - or how they do it?

24 A I'm not sure.

25 Q And do you know if they're recorded or not?

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1 A I don't know, honestly.

2 Q So in the room, that you recall, General Kellogg, Colonel  
3 Vindman, Tim Morrison, and how many other NSC colleagues?

4 A I can't say precisely, but I want to say one or two others.

5 Q Okay. Was Dr. Kupperman there?

6 A I believe so, but I couldn't tell you 100 percent.

7 Q And when you received the transcript of the call, were you  
8 involved with the editing process?

9 A For that particular call?

10 Q Yes.

11 A I did not receive a hard -- a copy of that particular call  
12 transcript. My colleagues who help prepare the Vice President's daily  
13 briefing book for his evening reading received the hard copy of that  
14 particular transcript. And, generally speaking, we are never involved  
15 in the editing process of the President's phone calls, we only have  
16 responsibility for the Vice President's calls.

17 Q So you're in the Situation Room. Did you take notes?

18 A I did.

19 Q But when the initial drafts of the transcript came through,  
20 you didn't have an opportunity to check your notes to the transcript,  
21 suggest edits --

22 A No.

23 Q -- or that type of thing?

24 A No.

25 Q Did you have any communications with anybody in the room

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1       about the editing process of the transcript?

2           A    No.

3           Q    Okay. So you didn't have a conversation with General  
4        Kellogg about whether the transcript was accurate?

5           A    No. No. I never saw that particular transcript, so no  
6        reason for me to have that conversation.

7           Q    Based on being in the room and taking notes and then reading  
8        the transcript, was it accurate and complete?

9           A    I never saw the transcript until the publicly released  
10      version that the White House released in September. So I read that  
11      transcript. And at a first reading it looked substantially accurate  
12      to me.

13          Q    Okay. As accurate as can be, given your experience as a  
14      participant on Presidential phone calls?

15          A    I didn't do a word-for-word comparison. I didn't get out  
16      my notebook from July at that point and look carefully.

17          When I read it for the first time in September, it generally  
18      matched my recollection from the call, but, again, not looking at it  
19      word-for-word.

20          Q    So it's as complete as it can be to the best of your  
21      experience?

22          A    Yes, not knowing -- not looking carefully at the specific  
23      words.

24          Q    Did you ever compare your notes to the transcript?

25          A    More recently I went back to look when I had heard that there

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1       was other testimony through this process that -- I believe Lieutenant  
2       Colonel Vindman had noticed a couple of small discrepancies.

3           My notes did reflect that the word Burisma had come up in the call,  
4       that the President had mentioned Burisma. I hadn't noticed that when  
5       I first read the transcript.

6           Q     Which President?

7           A     I'm sorry. President Trump.

8           Q     Okay.

9           A     But I had not looked that carefully back in September when  
10      the transcript was first released to notice that detail.

11          Q     Did you come to learn through public reports or direct  
12      communications with Colonel Vindman his discrepancies?

13          A     Only through the public reporting of this inquiry process.  
14      I have not had any conversations with Alex Vindman about this.

15          Q     And what was to, the best of your knowledge, what were his  
16      issues?

17          A     I would have to refer to the public record in terms of what  
18      precisely he said.

19          Q     But you said something about Burisma?

20          A     I recall that one of the issues he had noted was that the  
21      transcript released did not include the word Burisma. But on looking  
22      back at my notes, I do see that Burisma was mentioned by name in the  
23      call.

24          Q     Okay. And do you know whether Colonel Vindman's issue with  
25      Burisma was related to something President Zelensky said or President

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1       Trump said?

2           A    I don't know what Colonel Vindman's issue was. When I went  
3 back to check my notes, I had written that President Trump had raised  
4 Burisma. I don't know if that reflects what Colonel Vindman said as  
5 well.

6           Q    Do you remember when during the call he mentioned that?

7           A    Not precisely. I mean, later on in the call, but I don't  
8 know precisely when.

9           Q    Okay. Later on in the call?

10          A    Yes.

11          Q    Like, do you remember where in your notes it appears?

12          A    I don't have my notes, so I can't really refer to them right  
13 now.

14          Q    Have you referred to your notes recently?

15          A    Within the last week.

16          Q    Okay. You have?

17          A    Yes.

18          Q    Okay. But you just don't remember as you sit here today  
19 where --

20          A    I mean, not having it in front of me, not precisely where,  
21 no.

22          Q    Any other issues with the call that you flagged?

23          A    Not that I noticed.

24          Q    Okay. Were you aware of any other issues Colonel Vindman  
25 had flagged?

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1           A   Not precisely. Again, I wasn't present for his testimony,  
2 so I don't know exactly what he --

3           Q   Okay. But you read some news accounts about it?

4           A   That's right.

5           Q   Okay. Have you been following along in the news as witnesses  
6 have been appearing here?

7           A   I have.

8           Q   Okay. And which witnesses have you read news accounts  
9 about?

10          A   Probably all of them.

11          Q   Okay. Have you been reading the opening statements that  
12 have been -- some have been released?

13          A   I have.

14          Q   Okay. Completely?

15          A   Probably not all of them, but, yes.

16          Q   At any point in time between July 25th and the release of  
17 the call transcript on September 25th, did you have any communications  
18 with Vindman about the call?

19          A   No.

20          Q   Okay. When the transcript was made available to the VP's  
21 office, do you remember when that occurred?

22          A   My colleagues -- I can't remember the precise time, but  
23 before the end of the day that day my colleagues who help prepare the  
24 Vice President's briefing book received a hard copy of the transcript  
25 from the White House Situation Room to include in that book. I didn't

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1 personally see it, but I understood that they had received it because  
2 we wanted to make sure the Vice President got it.

3 Q On the 25th or 26th?

4 A It was on the 25th.

5 Q Okay. Was that the final version? Or don't you know?

6 A I don't know. I mean, it's the version that we provided to  
7 the Vice President.

8 Q Okay. So that went into his briefing book?

9 A That's right.

10 Q And do you know if he ever reviewed the call?

11 A I don't know.

12 Q So nobody told you one way or another whether the Vice  
13 President was able to read it, whether it be General Kellogg or some  
14 other VP staffer?

15 A That's right. I just don't know if he read it.

16 Q Do you know how frequently the VP reads his briefing book?

17 A We provide him with a daily briefing book of various updates  
18 on foreign policy matters. I'm not present when he reviews that, so  
19 I really -- I'm not in a position to say.

20 Q Okay. So you have no idea one way or another whether it's  
21 his regular practice to read the book or not read the book?

22 A I'd like to think that he reads the book, but I don't know  
23 if he reads them every day. We don't normally have follow-on  
24 conversations with him about it afterwards.

25 Q And was there any follow-on conversation about the content

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1       of the 7/25 call?

2           A     No.

3           Q     Okay. So he didn't task anybody, such as Marc Short or  
4     General Kellogg, to do anything or get any additional information about  
5     the call?

6           A     Not to my knowledge. He didn't task me.

7           Q     During the period of 7/25 to September 25th, did you have  
8     any communications with anybody about the content of the transcript?

9           A     No.

10          Q     Or the content of the call?

11          A     No.

12          Q     Okay. So after the call occurred, did you talk with General  
13     Kellogg about it?

14          A     No. He was in the room during the call as well, so I didn't  
15     feel a need to have a conversation with him.

16          Q     Did you write up a memo or anything to anyone else on the  
17     VP staff?

18          A     I had included an update in the Vice President's daily report  
19     that evening for that same briefing book, mentioning that the President  
20     had had a call that day with President Zelensky and kind of providing  
21     a broad overview of the call and noting that the transcript was also  
22     included in the book.

23          Q     Do you remember what else you included in that description?

24          A     It was very general. I didn't mention anything specific.  
25     I'm trying to remember if there was another Ukraine update that day.

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1           Oh, yes, sorry. Coincidentally, the Vice President's office had  
2 received a letter from Senator Lankford expressing the Senator's  
3 support for Ukraine. I believe he had written it on July 18th, but  
4 it was received by our office on July 25th, so I thought that was  
5 something that the Vice President would want to receive and read.

6           So the update I included was referencing that letter, and then  
7 also mentioning that, since it was also Ukraine-related: For your  
8 awareness, the President, President Trump had also had a call that day  
9 with President Zelensky; that call transcript is included in your book  
10 as well.

11          Q    Okay. But you didn't flag anything noteworthy about the  
12 call?

13          A    That's right.

14          Q    So you had no discussions with anybody from 7/25 to 9/25 about  
15 what happened on the call?

16          A    No.

17          Q    So if you had any concerns, you didn't raise them with General  
18 Kellogg?

19          A    I never discussed the call with General Kellogg, and never  
20 specifically referenced that call beyond flagging it for the Vice  
21 President's attention in his book that evening.

22          Q    Okay. So it wasn't until the call became public that it  
23 reemerged on your radar of issues to think about?

24          A    I think that's fair to say.

25          Q    After the call transcript was made public, did you have any

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1       communications with anybody about it, such as General Kellogg?

2           A   About the accuracy of the transcript or just in general?

3           Q   No, just about what happened on the call. There's some  
4       renewed focus, obviously --

5           A   Sure.

6           Q   -- once September 25th comes around.

7           A   Of course. Not specific to the call. I think we all, in  
8       our office, anyway, the Vice President's office, were reading the news  
9       and, you know, the updates related to that call and concerns about  
10      Ukraine. But I don't recall any specific conversation with General  
11      Kellogg or others kind of going back to the original call and what was  
12      in it.

13          Q   By the time September 25th comes around, everybody is  
14       talking about, you know, Biden and Burisma and Rudy Giuliani and all  
15       that stuff. Did you ever circle back with General Kellogg and sort  
16       of revisit, you know, what were you thinking when you heard this?

17          A   No, we never had a follow-on conversation about the call  
18       specifically.

19          Q   Okay. Were you surprised by the attention that those  
20       aspects of the call received once it became public --

21          A   No.

22          Q   -- in September?

23          A   No, I was not surprised.

24          Q   Okay. Did you expect that at some point it would?

25          A   Yes.

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1 Q Okay.

2 A Sorry, just to clarify. It's not that I expected that the  
3 call would someday become public, but once it was released I was not  
4 surprised that that was a focus.

5 Q Okay. The trip to Warsaw, you traveled with the Vice  
6 President on that?

7 A Yes, sir.

8 Q For that bilateral meeting the Vice President had with  
9 President Zelensky?

10 A I did.

11 Q You were on the whole trip?

12 A Yes.

13 Q And what was the date, do you remember, of the VP's meeting  
14 with President Zelensky?

15 A September 1st.

16 Q Okay. And maybe just walk us through the chronology of that  
17 trip?

18 A Sure.

19 Q To the extent you remember?

20 A Absolutely. I had been working on that trip for many months  
21 up until that point.

22 So we had been originally planning for the Vice President to  
23 travel to the U.K., Iceland, and Ireland in early September. The date  
24 of that was really hooked to an event that he participated in in London  
25 related to trade.

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1        When Hurricane Dorian was approaching the United States,  
2        obviously, as I think everyone here knows, the President decided to  
3        stay back in Washington and asked the Vice president to travel to Poland  
4        in his place.

5        That trip was revolving around a World War II commemoration event  
6        that took place in Warsaw, also on September 1st. And the plans for  
7        the President had been also to engage in a number of bilateral and  
8        multilateral meetings on the margins of that.

9        So I hadn't been closely tracking the plans for the President's  
10      trip because we were kind of busy with our own trip planning, but once  
11      we found out on August 29th that the Vice President would be going,  
12      I spoke with my NSC colleagues to get a better understanding of what  
13      was on the President's agenda for the trip so that we could start  
14      preparing the Vice President to take that on. So we walked through  
15      the range of different engagements planned and then proposed for the  
16      VP.

17       We had to scale it back a little bit just since we were basically  
18      tacking the Poland component onto our existing trip. So we were trying  
19      to make it as tight as possible. But, obviously, one of the engagements  
20      that remained on the schedule was the meeting with President Zelensky.

21       Q       Okay. And what were the briefings that occurred for the Vice  
22      President in advance of the bilateral meeting with President Zelensky?

23       A       So we had very limited time, obviously, to prepare for the  
24      Poland component of the trip. So I relied heavily on the NSC briefing  
25      papers that they had already prepared for the President's

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1 participation, which are not the same format as ours, but we were in  
2 a pinch so we used those, and I prepared separate talking points based  
3 on that information for the Vice President. So that kind of comprised  
4 his written briefing materials.

5 Q Okay.

6 A Prior to leaving, General Kellogg had asked, at the request  
7 of the Vice President, for an update on the status of the security  
8 assistance that was at that time still on hold. In that same timeframe,  
9 there had been a Politico article that had come out referencing the  
10 hold on U.S. security assistance to Ukraine, so we anticipated that  
11 President Zelensky would want an update on that. So that was part of  
12 the preparation process.

13 Once we got on the ground in Warsaw there was a pre-brief meeting  
14 just before the meeting with President Zelensky in which Ambassador  
15 Bolton, General Kellogg, our Chief of -- the Vice President's Chief  
16 of Staff, Marc Short, and myself, and I believe a couple of other OVP  
17 colleagues briefed the Vice President before meeting President  
18 Zelensky.

19 Q Okay. So there was written briefing materials that you sent  
20 through General Kellogg?

21 A That's right, and we added to our overall trip book. Yeah.

22 Q Okay. So the VP gets the written materials, and then there's  
23 a briefing. And you said -- who was the main speaker during the  
24 briefing?

25 A In that briefing, Ambassador Bolton had just been in Ukraine

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1 several days prior and had had a series of very in-depth engagements,  
2 including with President Zelensky, so he really took the lead in that  
3 pre-brief to prepare the Vice President for the meeting.

4 Q And do you remember what Ambassador Bolton communicated to  
5 the VP?

6 A He basically provided a read-out of his meeting. He had had  
7 very positive engagements and had been impressed by President  
8 Zelensky's reform agenda in the sense that their parliamentary process  
9 had just started. So the election had been held just previously, and  
10 I think they had just come into session.

11 And one noteworthy item was that the Zelensky administration  
12 already had hundreds of bills ready to go, and so Ambassador Bolton  
13 provided an overview of some of those. And then in terms of the  
14 security assistance, because that Politico story had just come out  
15 2 days prior, Ambassador Bolton kind of outlined that, you know, what  
16 that security assistance was for and the need -- they agreed on the  
17 need to get a final decision on that security assistance as soon as  
18 possible so that it could be implemented before the end of the fiscal  
19 year.

20 Q At the time, was the general mood that -- the hope was that  
21 the security assistance would be delivered?

22 A Yes.

23 Q And so the idea that the security assistance would be  
24 permanently withheld wasn't as much of a serious consideration?

25 A I think I sensed everyone wanted to avoid that scenario.

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1           Q    Okay. And was it your impression during that briefing that  
2    Ambassador Bolton was genuinely impressed with the authenticity of  
3    President Zelensky?

4           A    I believe so, yes.

5           Q    That he ran on a reform agenda?

6           A    Uh-huh. Yes.

7           Q    And so the conclusion, at least at that point, was he's headed  
8    in the right direction?

9           A    Yes.

10          Q    And he's a genuine reformer?

11          A    Correct.

12          Q    And his anticorruption initiatives were legitimate?

13          A    Yes. I mean, I think that, you know, there's still ongoing  
14    concern about what kind of limitations Zelensky may face given the  
15    ongoing influence of oligarchs in Ukraine. But I think we were all  
16    impressed by his efforts and wanted to support them.

17          Q    Okay. And during that pre-briefing -- where did the  
18    briefing occur?

19          A    The pre-brief?

20          Q    Yeah.

21          A    It was in a hotel room, in the hotel where we were staying.

22          Q    So it was in Warsaw?

23          A    In Warsaw.

24          Q    The hotel in Warsaw?

25          A    That's right.

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1 Q Was Ambassador Sondland there?

2 A Not in that briefing, no. He was on the trip, but not on  
3 that briefing.

4 Q Was he in any other briefings with the VP?

5 A I believe he had been in a briefing earlier in the day, right  
6 after our arrival, which was more of a general briefing, and an  
7 intelligence update for the Vice President since we had been flying  
8 all night.

9 Q All right.

10 A But I was not in that briefing, so I don't know exactly what  
11 was discussed.

12 Q Were you in and around that briefing?

13 A I was nearby that briefing. I had helped to make sure that  
14 they got to the room.

15 Q And you saw Ambassador Sondland enter the briefing?

16 A Correct.

17 Q Do you know if he was a scheduled participant in that  
18 briefing?

19 A I believe he requested to be added to that briefing. But,  
20 frankly, everything about this trip was short notice. So there wasn't  
21 really a scheduled -- or a formal list of participants in advance.

22 Q And do you know if he was ever, you know, on the official  
23 list for that briefing?

24 A Again, there wasn't really a formal list for that particular  
25 pre-brief, so I can't say one way or the other whether he was a scheduled

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1 participant.

2 Q Okay. So there was an intelligence briefing with the VP in  
3 the morning. You didn't go to that one but Ambassador Sondland did?

4 A Correct.

5 Q And you were nearby, you said?

6 A Yes.

7 Q And then the briefing in advance of the bilateral meeting  
8 occurred later in the day?

9 A Correct. It occurred after we -- the delegation -- the Vice  
10 President and the delegation had returned from the World War II  
11 commemoration event back to the hotel. And the meeting with Ukraine  
12 was happening just after that, and so the pre-brief happened just before  
13 the meeting with Zelensky.

14 Q Okay. Was Ambassador Sondland in that one?

15 A No.

16 Q Okay. And you said Ambassador Bolton did most of the  
17 talking?

18 A He did.

19 Q Did the call come up, the 7/25 call between President Trump  
20 and Zelensky, come up during that briefing?

21 A No, not to my recollection.

22 Q So nobody flagged for the VP, "Hey, the President had a call  
23 with President Zelensky"?

24 A No. No. It really didn't come up.

25 Q Okay.

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1           A    Yeah.  No, it was really focused on Ambassador Bolton's much  
2 more recent engagements with President Zelensky that had taken place  
3 a couple days prior.

4           Q    But to the best of your recollection, no one flagged for the  
5 VP that President Zelensky may be on alert to talk about investigations?

6           A    Correct.  There was no discussion of that whatsoever.

7           Q    Okay.  In hindsight, does that surprise you?

8           A    No, not really.  I think the more immediate concern was the  
9 Politico story that had just broken 2 days prior about the security  
10 assistance hold.  And so I think the group anticipated that that would  
11 be first and foremost on President Zelensky's mind, and we wanted to  
12 prepare the VP to be able to respond to those questions.

13          Q    Is there anything else from that briefing?  Did anybody else  
14 have a speaking role other than Ambassador Bolton?

15          A    I added a few points on other agenda items that might come  
16 up, but not in great detail.

17          Q    Okay.  Is there any other detail you can remember at the  
18 meeting worth telling us about?

19          A    I don't think so.  It was pretty focused on the security  
20 assistance.

21          Q    Okay.  And then the next event is the bilateral meeting?

22          A    Correct.

23          Q    And can you recollect generally what the Vice President  
24 communicated to President Zelensky --

25          A    Sure.

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1 Q -- during that meeting?

2 A Yes. So it was a good meeting. So it started off, as most  
3 of these foreign engagements do, with a press spray. So each principal  
4 made comments on camera for a number of minutes.

5 Once the cameras left the room, the very first question that  
6 President Zelensky had was about the status of security assistance.  
7 And the VP responded by really expressing our ongoing support for  
8 Ukraine, but wanting to hear from President Zelensky, you know, what  
9 the status of his reform efforts were that he could then convey back  
10 to the President, and also wanting to hear if there was more that  
11 European countries could do to support Ukraine.

12 Q Okay. Did the VP express the President's overall outlook  
13 on foreign aid?

14 A Not specifically. I think in terms of discussing the role  
15 of European countries, I think it was meant to make that point in terms  
16 of the President's -- President Trump's expectations that other  
17 countries would also step up to provide more support. It was more in  
18 those terms.

19 Q Separate from that, are you aware of the President's view  
20 on foreign aid?

21 A Yes.

22 Q That he has a skeptical view of foreign aid?

23 A I think that's fair to say.

24 Q Are you aware that he's commissioned a review across  
25 government of all U.S. foreign assistance?

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1           A I'm aware there have been a number of reviews of foreign  
2 assistance. I'm not sure of the specific one that you're referencing.

3           Q But it's certainly a well-established fact that President  
4 Trump is extremely skeptical of U.S. foreign aid?

5           A I think that's fair to say.

6           Q And he wants to make sure U.S. taxpayer dollars are spent  
7 in the right way?

8           A Sure. Correct.

9           Q And we're getting a good return on that investment, correct?

10          A That's what I've heard him express, yes.

11          Q So the Vice President -- coming back to the meeting, the Vice  
12 President's meeting with President Zelensky, and he raises the prospect  
13 that the U.S. hopes or at least President Trump hopes that our European  
14 allies step up and contribute more?

15          A That's correct. That was part of what the Vice President  
16 conveyed to President Zelensky.

17          Q And what was President Zelensky's reaction?

18          A President Zelensky agreed in the sense that I think he  
19 certainly would welcome more support from all allies and partners.

20          He made the point, though, that as important as the funding itself  
21 was, that it was the strategic value of -- the symbolic value of U.S.  
22 support in terms of security assistance that was just as valuable to  
23 the Ukrainians as the actual dollars.

24          Q Okay.

25          A He was making the point that, you know, any hold or appearance

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1       of reconsideration of such assistance might embolden Russia to think  
2       that the United States was no longer committed to Ukraine.

3           Q    Okay. And what was the Vice President's reaction to that?

4           A    He assured President Zelensky that there was no change in  
5       U.S. policy in terms of our full -- full-throated support for Ukraine  
6       and its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and assured that he  
7       would convey back to President Trump what he had heard from President  
8       Zelensky in terms of Zelensky's good progress on reforms, so that  
9       hopefully we could get a decision on the security assistance as soon  
10      as possible.

11          Q    So the Vice President signaled to President Zelensky that  
12       the reform efforts that he had implemented to date were encouraging?

13          A    He did. He didn't make a concrete promise on a decision,  
14       but expressed a positive view of what President Zelensky had conveyed  
15       and promised to convey that back to the President.

16          Q    Okay. And did he -- how did he communicate that? Did he  
17       give a specific timeframe or --

18          A    For a decision?

19          Q    For communicating back with the President?

20          A    He told President Zelensky that he would speak to President  
21       Trump before the end of the day.

22          Q    Okay. So it was a relatively --

23          A    Short timeframe.

24          Q    Okay. And specific. The VP committed to talk to the  
25       President about this?

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1 A That's right.

2 Q And during the course of the meeting there was no discussion  
3 of any investigations that the Ukrainians were to do?

4 A No specific investigations, no.

5 Q Okay. Like the 2016 election didn't come up?

6 A It did not.

7 Q CrowdStrike didn't come up?

8 A No.

9 Q Okay. Former VP Biden --

10 A No.

11 Q -- didn't come up? The name wasn't uttered?

12 A Not once.

13 Q And the name Burisma never came up?

14 A No.

15 Q And you weren't surprised by that?

16 A No, I wasn't expecting those specific issues to necessarily  
17 come up.

18 Q And Ambassador Sondland, he was in that meeting?

19 A He was.

20 Q To the extent you can remember, who were the other U.S.  
21 officials staffing the VP at the bilateral meeting?

22 A It was a big meeting, so forgive me if I miss a name or two.  
23 But, obviously, the Vice President was the lead. We had Secretary  
24 Perry. We had Ambassador Sondland. Tim Morrison.

25 I believe we also had Wells Griffith, who is the Energy Senior

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■ Director for NSC; ■

2 ■; myself. We had ■

3 ■.

4 I probably am missing a name or two. Forgive me.

5 Q Was Ambassador Volker there?

6 A I'm trying to recall.

7 Probably. I apologize, I just really don't remember. It was  
8 what we call a six plus six. So there were six front-benchers and six  
9 back-benchers on each side. But I just don't recall.

10 Oh, sorry, Ambassador Bolton was there. He had to leave partway  
11 through the meeting to catch his flight, but he was there for at least  
12 part of the discussion.

13 Q And after the meeting ended, were you aware of any of  
14 Gordon's -- Ambassador Gordon Sondland, any of his activities with the  
15 Ukrainians?

16 A I wasn't aware, no.

17 Q Okay. It's been reported, and you may have read this in some  
18 of the news accounts, that he conferred with some of President  
19 Zelensky -- at least one of President Zelensky's aides?

20 A I've read that, but I wasn't aware at the time.

21 Q Okay. So you didn't witness Ambassador Sondland pull aside  
22 any Ukrainians?

23 A I did not, no.

24 Q And did that fact come to light or come to your attention  
25 during the trip?

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1           A    No, not until the more recent press reports of that.

2           After the Zelensky meeting, the Vice President went on with his  
3 schedule. We had an evening dinner event that evening. And kind of  
4 the Ukraine component of our trip concluded and we moved on to the rest  
5 of our itinerary.

6           Q    Okay. So you left with the VP's delegation?

7           A    That's right. So the next day we had bilateral engagements  
8 with the Government of Poland, with the President, with President Duda,  
9 and several other events, a quick engagement with the Prime Minister  
10 of Poland, and then flew onward to Ireland, I believe.

11          Q    Okay. Did anyone relate to you -- I think you said the answer  
12 is no, but I'll just double back -- no one related to you that Sondland  
13 had a communication with Yermak?

14          A    No. Not -- no.

15          Q    So you never talked about that with Colonel Vindman --

16          A    No.

17          Q    -- or Tim Morrison?

18          A    No.

19          Q    Did Morrison stay for the whole meeting or did he leave with  
20 Ambassador Bolton?

21          A    He stayed, because he also joined us for the Poland  
22 engagements the next day.

23          Q    Okay. At this point in time -- and you've seen the news  
24 accounts about whether there were any conditionality for White House  
25 meetings -- did that topic come up at all? Were you aware that

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1        Ambassador Sondland was pressing this?

2            A    In terms of scheduling a White House meeting?

3            Q    Right, some of this conditionality with --

4            A    I wasn't aware of Ambassador Sondland's particular role in  
5    that. I was aware that President Zelensky was very eager to get a  
6    scheduled meeting at the White House. And we expected actually that  
7    Zelensky may raise that with the Vice President in his meeting as well.  
8    But I wasn't aware of any, like, discussions behind the scenes, so to  
9    speak, of scheduling that meeting.

10          Q    Did you know Ambassador Volker had been working with Mr.  
11    Yermak?

12          A    I was not aware, no.

13          Q    Okay. So at the time you had no awareness that there was  
14    this concept of the Ukrainians looking into the 2016 election or opening  
15    up any other sort of investigation?

16          A    The only reference I had heard to that was on the July 25th  
17    call.

18          Q    Okay.

19          At any point during this trip, you know, you went on to meet -- the  
20    Vice President went on to meet with, I think you said --

21          A    Poland and, like, the rest of the trip?

22          Q    Right. Went on -- did he travel to Poland or was the  
23    meeting --

24          A    Well, we stayed in Poland an extra day to do the Polish  
25    engagements and then flew onward to Ireland, Iceland, and the U.K.

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1 Q So you met with the Prime Minister of Poland?

2 A We did. It was a bilateral meeting with the President of  
3 Poland and then a brief meeting with the Prime Minister to sign an MOU  
4 on 5G, and then we flew onward to Ireland.

5 Q In the meeting with President Duda, did anything come up with  
6 about Biden or Burisma?

7 A No.

8 Q There was a press availability, I think, between the VP and  
9 Duda.

10 A That's right.

11 Q Do you remember whether anything came up during that press  
12 availability?

13 A Yes. One of the U.S. reporters, I can't remember which one,  
14 I believe asked the Vice President about that issue, I believe, whether  
15 it had come up in the Ukraine meeting the day before, since it was the  
16 Vice President's first press engagement since the Zelensky meeting.

17 Q So this is on September 2nd?

18 A Correct.

19 Q A reporter asked the Vice President whether -- what exactly  
20 had come up?

21 A My recollection is that the U.S. reporter asked the  
22 President -- sorry, the Vice President -- whether the issue of former  
23 Vice President Biden or Burisma had come up in his meeting with  
24 President Zelensky the day before.

25 Q And what was Vice President Pence's reaction to that?

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1 A He said no.

2 Q Okay. Was he surprised that it was raised?

3 A I don't know. I don't know if he was surprised by it. But  
4 it hadn't come up, so it was easy for him --

5 Q It was easy for him to say no?

6 A Yes.

7 Q Okay. During this time period, in discussions with the NSC  
8 staff, whether Colonel Vindman or Tim Morrison, had you had any  
9 discussions with them about Biden, Burisma, 2016 investigations?

10 A No.

11 Q Okay. Had you had any discussions with NSC staff at this  
12 point about the role of Ambassador Sondland or Rudy Giuliani?

13 A No. We had never had discussions about that. The only  
14 instance in which Ambassador Sondland's name came up was when the Vice  
15 President assumed the role of the President in the trip to Poland and  
16 I learned that Ambassador Sondland was scheduled to be part of the  
17 delegation. That was it.

18 Q You told us earlier that you did have one conversation with  
19 Dr. Fiona Hill that involved Giuliani?

20 A Much earlier on, in May, with regards to Ambassador  
21 Yovanovitch's removal.

22 Q From that point forward had you had any other conversations  
23 about the Giuliani component relating to Ukraine --

24 A No.

25 Q -- with anyone?

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1           A    No. I'm trying to think if there was even any specific press  
2 reporting kind of more in the July-August timeframe. I don't recall  
3 any related to Giuliani's role in Ukraine. But we never -- I never  
4 had any internal conversations about his role.

5           Q    Okay. And through this whole process, have you had any  
6 discussions with Tim Morrison about Giuliani's role or the concept of  
7 these investigations?

8           A    No.

9           Q    How about with Colonel Vindman?

10          A    No.

11          Q    The security assistance hold, you mentioned you first  
12 learned about that on July 3rd?

13          A    That's right.

14          Q    So that was about 2 weeks before the July 18th sub-PCC  
15 meeting?

16          A    Correct.

17          Q    And was the hold at that point on July 3rd known outside of  
18 the complex? The complex meaning the EEOB?

19          A    Sure, the EEOB.

20          Yes, in the sense that the report that I had seen was the State  
21 Department reporting to NSC that OMB had told them about the hold. So  
22 at least OMB and State knew about it.

23          Q    Okay. And then did anything happen between that email  
24 exchange that you told us about and the July 18th sub-PCC meeting?

25          A    Not that I saw. I don't know if other agencies or

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1 individuals had further discussions about the status of the assistance.

2 Q And were you involved with the July 18th meeting?

3 A I did not attend that meeting because I was on pre-advance  
4 travel for the Vice President's trip that week. So my first meeting  
5 that I attended on that issue was the following week, the July 23rd  
6 PCC.

7 Q Okay. And did you get a read-out of the July 18th meeting?

8 A I did.

9 Q What do you recall about the security assistance hold?

10 A I read the summary of conclusions from that meeting that NSC  
11 had prepared, and it discussed the fact that the interagency was made  
12 aware, for those who weren't already aware, of the hold on the security  
13 assistance. And State and DOD and other agencies expressed support  
14 for lifting that hold as soon as possible and that the reason behind  
15 the hold was because OMB was conducting a further review.

16 Q Okay. And then the next event was the PCC?

17 A Correct.

18 Q And what date was that again?

19 A July 23rd.

20 Q Okay. And you attended that meeting?

21 A I did.

22 Q And what do you remember from that meeting about the hold?

23 A It was a very similar discussion. Essentially, it was just  
24 one level up, at the assistant secretary level, all the agencies  
25 supporting -- expressing their support for lifting the hold. And the

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1       OMB representative conveyed that they had been directed by the Chief  
2       of Staff, the White House Chief of Staff, to continue holding it until  
3       further notice.

4           Q     And was the hope generally at that point that the assistance  
5       would be released?

6           A     Yes.

7           Q     And did you participate in any other meetings --

8           A     I did.

9           Q     -- with regard to the security assistance?

10          A     Yes. The next meeting was a Deputies Committee meeting on  
11       July 26th, so 3 days later.

12          Q     Okay.

13          A     And, again, it was a very similar discussion with all  
14       agencies, deputy secretaries expressing support, and OMB expressing  
15       that the hold would continue until further notice.

16          Q     Okay. Was there any discussion that with the new Ukrainian  
17       Government, with the new -- President Zelensky and the new Rada, whether  
18       that was part of the hold?

19          A     It was not discussed in those terms. OMB never -- did not  
20       provide a detailed explanation for the reason behind the hold.

21          Q     Okay. And anything else notable about the 7/26 Deputies  
22       meeting?

23          A     I guess I would just say this whole process of meetings was  
24       meant to kind of do the due diligence of working the issue up the chain,  
25       the policy chain, in order to prompt the scheduling of a Principals

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1        Committee meeting at which Cabinet-level secretaries would provide  
2        guidance on whether to lift the hold.

3            Q     Okay. So after the 7/26 meeting, what was the next scheduled  
4        meeting?

5            A     My understanding was NSC colleagues were looking to schedule  
6        a Principals Committee meeting, but it was never scheduled.

7            Q     So the 7/26 meeting, to the best of your knowledge, is the  
8        last one?

9            A     Correct.

10          Q     And what can you tell us between July 26th and  
11        September 11th, when the aid was released? Did you come into any  
12        firsthand facts?

13          A     Behind the hold and what the status was?

14          Q     Yes.

15          A     Not specifically. Because there was no Principals  
16        Committee meeting scheduled during that timeframe, it wasn't high on  
17        my radar, other than the fact that it continued to be held.

18          And then towards the end of August once the Vice President  
19        inherited the trip to Poland and we knew he'd be meeting with President  
20        Zelensky, he requested information about the status of the hold so we  
21        could prepare for those meetings. So I provided an update to General  
22        Kellogg, who passed that to the VP.

23          Q     And do you remember when the news of the hold became public?

24          A     I believe it was August 29th or 30th --

25          Q     Through the Politico story?

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1           A    Right.

2           Q    And are you aware of anything in particular that happened  
3 once you got back from the Warsaw trip, between that date and  
4 September 11th? Do you know if the Principals Committee ever  
5 convened?

6           A    I don't believe that there was ever a Principals Committee  
7 convened. My understanding is that the Vice President had spoken with  
8 the President directly after his meeting with President Zelensky on  
9 September 1st, but I wasn't privy to that conversation, so I don't know  
10 exactly what was discussed and whether they had a further conversation  
11 about it upon the Vice President's return after his trip.

12          Q    Did you get a read-out of that call?

13          A    I did not.

14          Q    So between July 26th and September 11th there were no  
15 meetings or communications that you were a part of?

16          A    I recall that -- I believe right before we left on the trip  
17 on, I guess it was August 30th, the Friday, that I learned through our  
18 Chief of Staff that there had been a small group discussion, not a formal  
19 meeting, I believe involving Dr. Kupperman and Marc Short, our Chief  
20 of Staff, and I don't know who the others were, related to the status  
21 of Ukraine security assistance, but I was not present for that meeting.

22          Q    Okay. And anything you know about what happened up to  
23 September 11th from September 1st?

24          A    I will say that also in the lead-up to our trip, to the Vice  
25 President's trip to Poland, Senator Johnson had reached out to try to

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1 speak with the Vice President because he was also traveling to Ukraine  
2 shortly after. I don't believe that call ever connected, but I believe  
3 he also wanted to discuss the status of security assistance. But other  
4 than that, I'm not aware of any formal meetings or other discussions  
5 that took place.

6 Q Okay. Do you remember when Senator Johnson's trip was,  
7 roughly?

8 A It was a few days after the Vice President saw Zelensky in  
9 Poland, so I want to say it was probably September 3rd or 4th, something  
10 like that.

11 Q And who else was on that trip? Any other Senators?

12 A I believe so, but I honestly don't remember. We were on our  
13 trip in other parts of Europe, so I wasn't tracking it closely at that  
14 point.

15 Q Okay. And do you know if the Senators had a view on the aid?

16 A My understanding was that they were supportive of getting  
17 the hold released as soon as possible.

18 Q And do you know if any other Senators had weighed in at this  
19 point?

20 A I understood that Senator Portman also was interested in the  
21 status of the security assistance, and that around the time -- I'm not  
22 sure the precise day, I want to say September 9th, 9th or 10th -- that  
23 Members of Congress had opened an inquiry, possibly two inquiries, into  
24 the status of the security assistance and to try to find the reason  
25 for the hold.

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1           Q    Okay. Any other Senators that you haven't identified?

2           A    Not to my knowledge. There probably were, but not that I  
3 was aware of.

4           Q    Okay. How did you know about Senator Portman's interest?

5           A    I had seen press reporting that he was interested in the  
6 status of the hold.

7           Q    Do you know if any Senators contacted the Vice President?

8           A    Other than back in July, Senator Lankford writing a letter,  
9 and Senator Johnson reaching out around the time of our trip to Poland,  
10 I'm not aware of any other Senators reaching out directly to the Vice  
11 President.

12          Q    Since your -- have you had any discussions with any of the  
13 folks that have been before us, you know, before or after their  
14 appearance here, about the content of what the committees are looking  
15 into?

16          A    Not about the content of these discussions, these  
17 testimonies, no.

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1 [11:35 a.m.]

2 BY MR. CASTOR:

3 Q Okay. Outside your lawyers, like who have you discussed  
4 your testimony with?

5 A No one.

6 Q Okay. When was the last time you spoke with Tim Morrison?

7 A That's a good question. I'm trying to remember when he  
8 appeared. Last week, right?

9 Q He was here on Halloween?

10 A Convenient.

11 Q I remember that.

12 A Okay. Before then. I -- honestly, I don't recall  
13 precisely. I mean, I would see him on a fairly regular basis for  
14 meetings.

15 Q Okay. But you haven't spoken with --

16 A No.

17 Q -- Mr. Morrison --

18 A No, not since then.

19 Q -- since Halloween?

20 A No. Yeah.

21 Q When is the last time you spoke with Colonel Vindman?

22 A I saw him in the hallway yesterday. I had a meeting with  
23 him on last Friday, I believe, with the ██████████ Ambassador to the  
24 United States, since he has a large -- our portfolios overlap. And  
25 so we participated in a meeting together with the ██████████ Ambassador.

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1 Q Okay. And what do you remember Colonel Vindman telling you  
2 at that meeting or before the meeting, after the meeting?

3 A About?

4 Q About anything.

5 A Well, that meeting, obviously, we were focusing on our U.S.  
6 policy --

7 Q Right.

8 A -- towards [REDACTED] and looking at what next steps might be  
9 and the reforms in the [REDACTED] Government towards becoming a stronger  
10 democracy. So it was very focused on that.

11 Q Did Colonel Vindman tell you anything about his testimony?

12 A He did not, no.

13 Q Okay. Did he tell you that he mentioned your name during  
14 his testimony?

15 A He told me that he had been asked, but we did not discuss  
16 the testimony beyond that.

17 Q Okay. So what exactly did he tell you?

18 A He said that he had been asked who was on the call and that  
19 my name was mentioned, but that was it.

20 Q Okay. And he affirmatively brought that up to you?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Was that in the context of -- like what was that in the  
23 context of?

24 A I think he just wanted me to be aware that my name had been  
25 introduced. That was it. We didn't discuss the testimony beyond

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1       that.

2           Q    Okay. At that point, did he know that you were scheduled  
3    to come in?

4           A    No, I don't believe so. I don't know that any of us were  
5    aware of who was going to be part of this process.

6           Q    Okay. So as of last Friday, you didn't know that you were  
7    coming in today?

8           A    As of last -- I got called by the committee last Friday  
9    evening, so not before then.

10          Q    That was the first time? Being in the minority --

11          A    Sure.

12          Q    -- we're not part of the scheduling process --

13          A    Not before then, no.

14          Q    -- among other processes.

15          A    Noted.

16          Q    So you found out on Friday night that the committee had an  
17    interest in speaking with you?

18          A    Correct.

19          Q    Okay. And when you saw Colonel Vindman at the [REDACTED]  
20    meeting, that was the first time you'd talked to him since he had  
21    testified?

22          A    I believe so, yes. Yeah.

23          Q    Okay. And he mentioned to you that he had identified -- he'd  
24    been asked and identified your name as being on the call?

25          A    Correct.

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1 Q And did he say anything else to you, or is that --

2 A No, we didn't talk about it further. I was advised not to.

3 Q Okay. Did he give you any recommendations, like you should  
4 get a lawyer, anything of that sort?

5 A I had already retained counsel well before then, so --

6 Q Okay. Because you had an expectation the committees might  
7 be interested in your testimony?

8 A I retained counsel in early October thinking that it may come  
9 up at some point.

10 Q And I'm not trying to get into any --

11 A No, understood.

12 Q -- attorney-client privilege matters. That's not what  
13 we're seeking here.

14 A No. It was well before then.

15 MR. CASTOR: Okay. Before our time is almost up, I want to make  
16 sure -- anything?

17 MR. MEADOWS: Ms. Williams, I want to say thank you for your  
18 service. Yeah, these are trying times, and it's not fun for anybody  
19 to come here, even us. And so --

20 MS. WILLIAMS: It's a long process.

21 MR. MEADOWS: And so I want to thank you for your service. I want  
22 to clarify two things: I believe you said that it was actually on the  
23 President's schedule to go to Warsaw, and that was canceled, and the  
24 Vice President took his place. Is that correct?

25 MS. WILLIAMS: That's correct.

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1           MR. MEADOWS: And then in all of your prep for the Vice President,  
2       it sounds like you're a pretty thorough individual when it comes to  
3       prepping people. Is that correct?

4           MS. WILLIAMS: I do my best, sir.

5           MR. MEADOWS: All right. So in all of your prep, as it relates  
6       to the aid, the Ukrainian aid that this whole impeachment process seems  
7       to fold into, the aid and seven words on a phone transcript that we're  
8       now spending unbelievable time and effort, but in any of that, was there  
9       ever any briefing with the Vice President that says, by the way, you  
10      know, you need to bring up these investigations, or you need to be  
11      cautious about the investigations, one way or the other?

12          MS. WILLIAMS: No, not at all.

13          MR. MEADOWS: And so as someone who's advising the Vice President  
14       of the United States, would it be fair to say that investigations into  
15       any 2016, Burisma, Biden, was not a consideration that was a top  
16       priority for the Vice President of the United States as you prepped  
17       him for his meeting with President Zelensky?

18          MS. WILLIAMS: That's correct.

19          MR. MEADOWS: And so, as we go even further, in terms of the  
20       readouts and, in terms of what I think your nomenclature is, due-outs,  
21       there was no due-out that would suggest that there had to be any  
22       conditionality to releasing the aid, other than what Ambassador Bolton  
23       brought up in terms of real aggressive anticorruption measures that  
24       I guess happened in late August. Is that correct?

25          MS. WILLIAMS: I guess I would say, I did not know the motivation

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1 behind the hold in the first place.

2 MR. MEADOWS: Right.

3 MS. WILLIAMS: So I was not aware of any conditionality or what  
4 the reason for the hold was, and what that might be dependent on. It's  
5 only later on through this process that I understand there were other  
6 conversations happening outside of what we would consider to be  
7 official diplomatic channels.

8 MR. MEADOWS: And you've learned that through --

9 MS. WILLIAMS: Press reporting.

10 MR. MEADOWS: -- open-source press reporting?

11 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

12 MR. MEADOWS: So everything that you know about any nefarious  
13 purpose actually came through press reports, no official channels?

14 MS. WILLIAMS: That's correct, and we had no understanding of  
15 what the actual reason for the hold was.

16 MR. MEADOWS: Okay. And so, Ambassador Bolton, the end of  
17 August, says, Listen, I had a great meeting with President Zelensky.  
18 I think it's been described to us they were up all night passing these  
19 anticorruption measures. Is that accurate?

20 MS. WILLIAMS: That is what he conveyed to the Vice President in  
21 the pre-brief, correct.

22 MR. MEADOWS: And so a very positive message from Ambassador  
23 Bolton. Then the Vice President of the United States has a very  
24 positive meeting with President Zelensky where they talk about their  
25 mutual respect and desire to work together. Is that correct?

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1 MS. WILLIAMS: That's correct.

2 MR. MEADOWS: So a positive meeting, a positive meeting, a phone  
3 call, and then intervention from at least one or two Senators, I guess  
4 Senator Johnson and Senator Portman. Is that correct?

5 MS. WILLIAMS: I was not involved --

6 MR. MEADOWS: And Lankford, Senator Lankford, I guess, three  
7 different --

8 MS. WILLIAMS: I was aware that those Senators had expressed  
9 interest in the issue. I wasn't privy to what those discussions were.

10 MR. MEADOWS: And so, in terms of a due-out, would you -- is it  
11 your belief, your sworn testimony here today, that your belief was that  
12 Vice President Pence would give a favorable recommendation to the  
13 President of the United States to release the aid and move forward?

14 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes.

15 MR. MEADOWS: I thank you. I yield back.

16 MS. WILLIAMS: Thank you, sir.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Okay. Why don't we take our lunch break now and  
18 resume at 12:30. We are in recess.

19 [Recess.]

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1 [12:35 p.m.]

2 THE CHAIRMAN: Okay. Let's go back on the record.

3 Ms. Williams, I just had a couple followup questions before I give  
4 it back to Mr. Noble or Mr. Goldman. In response to some of the  
5 questions from minority counsel, you described the efforts made to  
6 advance a potential Vice Presidential visit to the inauguration, the  
7 effort to see if rooms were available and the like?

8 MS. WILLIAMS: Uh-huh. Yes, sir.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: I take it once the message was passed down that  
10 the President did not want the Vice President to attend, any further  
11 effort to make those arrangements also came to an end?

12 MS. WILLIAMS: That's correct.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: The Vice President wasn't going to countermand the  
14 President and go even though the President didn't want him to?

15 MS. WILLIAMS: I can't speak for the Vice President, but I was  
16 instructed to stop the trip planning at that point.

17 THE CHAIRMAN: Okay. And you never learned the reason for the  
18 President's change of mind on the Vice President's attending the  
19 inauguration?

20 MS. WILLIAMS: No, sir.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: This is no slur on the Secretary of Energy, but  
22 I think you said one of the roles of the Vice President is to attend  
23 high-level meetings that the President cannot attend?

24 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, sir.

25 THE CHAIRMAN: And that's viewed with a certain status by foreign

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1 governments having a Vice Presidential visit, not as good as the  
2 President but maybe number two?

3 MS. WILLIAMS: I believe so.

4 THE CHAIRMAN: And the decision to send the Vice President  
5 somewhere would be viewed in Ukraine as a signal of U.S. support for  
6 this new President, his inauguration?

7 MS. WILLIAMS: That's right.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, I think you mentioned -- and this is along  
9 similar lines, that one of the points that President Zelensky made in  
10 Warsaw is it's not just getting military assistance that's important,  
11 it's the fact that it's coming from the United States that's also  
12 important. Is that right?

13 MS. WILLIAMS: That's correct.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: And that's important, both in terms of assuring  
15 Ukrainians that the United States has its back, but also in deterring  
16 Russian aggression, is it not?

17 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: And the same might be said for the status of a  
19 Presidential or Vice Presidential visit to an inauguration?

20 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

21 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, at the meeting in Warsaw, I think you said  
22 it was a big meeting. It was a six-plus-six. Is that right?

23 MS. WILLIAMS: That's right.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: And that means that there were essentially six  
25 U.S. principals and six staff people behind them?

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1 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct, and then the two principals in the front  
2 of the room, so President Zelensky and the Vice President.

3 THE CHAIRMAN: I see. And then on the Ukrainian side of the  
4 table, they would have their own six-plus-six?

5 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

6 THE CHAIRMAN: So there would be essentially around two dozen  
7 people at that meeting?

8 MS. WILLIAMS: That's right.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: And so in this meeting with two dozen people, the  
10 Vice President did not bring up what the President said on the July 25  
11 phone call in terms of the President's desire for investigations of  
12 the Bidens, Burisma, or 2016?

13 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct, he did not raise that.

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Now, you've seen, I'm sure, a press report about  
15 what Ambassador Sondland said happened just after that meeting. Have  
16 you not?

17 MS. WILLIAMS: I've seen the press reports, yes.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: And if Ambassador Sondland's new affidavit is  
19 accurate and he spoke with Mr. Yermak immediately thereafter, still  
20 at the same meeting, but in a pull-aside, and conveyed that military  
21 assistance was tied to doing these investigations, that would have an  
22 influence on how Ukraine would perceive what the Vice President meant  
23 when he was talking about corruption. Would it not?

24 MS. WILLIAMS: I would imagine that they would take that  
25 conversation into account, but obviously, I can't speak for the

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1        Ukrainians on how they would interpret that.

2            THE CHAIRMAN: But you would certainly expect that a top adviser  
3        to President Zelensky, who sat in on the Vice Presidential meeting,  
4        would very quickly convey to President Zelensky what he had heard in  
5        the private discussion with Ambassador Sondland immediately  
6        thereafter?

7            MS. WILLIAMS: I would imagine so.

8            THE CHAIRMAN: Now, I think you said that, in anticipation for  
9        the Vice President's call to congratulate President Zelensky on his  
10      inauguration, which followed President Trump's call, that you included  
11      the call record of President Trump's call for the Vice President?

12           MS. WILLIAMS: That's correct.

13           THE CHAIRMAN: And I think you said that after the July 25 call  
14      between President Trump and President Zelensky you also included that  
15      call record in the Vice President's daily briefing book?

16           MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, in his daily briefing book that same day, on  
17      July 25.

18           THE CHAIRMAN: And we heard other testimony that the Vice  
19      President was quite diligent in reading his Presidential -- or Vice  
20      Presidential daily briefing books. Was that your experience as well?

21           MS. WILLIAMS: He receives them every evening, so I have to admit,  
22      I've never personally witnessed his process of reading them. I presume  
23      he does, but I can't confirm if he reads every item every day.

24           THE CHAIRMAN: But in your conversations with the Vice President  
25      following up on the briefing materials that you give him, does he seem

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1       familiar with what you had briefed him in writing?

2           MS. WILLIAMS: Generally, but I don't see him on a daily basis,  
3       so it's hard for me to be very precise in terms of what items he will  
4       have read each night.

5           THE CHAIRMAN: Well, even though you don't see him on a daily  
6       basis, on the opportunities you do see him and you discuss things that  
7       you briefed him about in writing, he seems familiar with what you  
8       provided him, does he not?

9           MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, sir.

10          THE CHAIRMAN: And in the briefing book prior to his visit with  
11       President Zelensky in Warsaw, would the July 25 call record have been  
12       in that briefing book as well?

13          MS. WILLIAMS: I don't believe it was. We don't normally include  
14       call transcripts in trip briefing books.

15          THE CHAIRMAN: So his familiarity with the call would have been  
16       around the time it occurred from the original briefing book?

17          MS. WILLIAMS: That would have been the only opportunity that I'm  
18       aware of that he would have had that transcript.

19          THE CHAIRMAN: Now, I think you testified that Senator Johnson  
20       was trying to reach the Vice President. About when did -- when was  
21       that effort made?

22          MS. WILLIAMS: I received an email from my Vice President's  
23       office colleague who covers legislative affairs connecting me with one  
24       of Senator Johnson's staff members just before we left for Warsaw, I  
25       believe it was August 30, on that Friday, and we departed that Saturday.

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1        It may have even been that Saturday, either August 30th or 31st.

2            THE CHAIRMAN: So August 30th or 31st was when Senator Johnson  
3        was trying to reach the Vice President?

4            MS. WILLIAMS: My understanding from Senator Johnson's staff was  
5        that the Senator was looking to have a phone call with the Vice  
6        President, either before the Vice President went to Warsaw to talk about  
7        Ukraine or, if that wasn't possible, possibly right after the Vice  
8        President had met with Zelensky that Sunday because Senator Johnson  
9        was traveling out to Kyiv the following week. And so, it would be an  
10      opportunity for them to compare notes and for the Vice President to  
11      convey what he had heard from Zelensky before Senator Johnson saw  
12      Zelensky.

13           THE CHAIRMAN: Are you familiar with The Wall Street Journal  
14      article, dated October 4, in which Senator Johnson told The Wall Street  
15      Journal that Ambassador Sondland had described to him a quid pro quo  
16      involving a commitment by Kyiv to probe matters related to U.S.  
17      elections and the status of nearly \$400 million in U.S. aid to Ukraine  
18      that the President had ordered to be held up in July? Are you familiar  
19      with that article?

20           MS. WILLIAMS: I'm not, no. No, sir.

21           THE CHAIRMAN: The article indicates that the Senator was told  
22      this by Ambassador Sondland in August. Do you know whether this was  
23      the subject which Senator Johnson sought to discuss with the Vice  
24      President?

25           MS. WILLIAMS: I don't know specifically. What I understood

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1 from Senator Johnson's staff member was that the Senator wanted to  
2 discuss the status of security assistance, so I took that to mean the  
3 status of the hold. But I didn't know what -- any more detail than  
4 that.

5 THE CHAIRMAN: All right. Mr. Noble.

6 BY MR. NOBLE:

7 Q Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 You testified earlier that you first learned that there had been  
9 a hold placed on the Ukraine assistance on July 3 in the email from  
10 Colonel Vindman. Is that right?

11 A That's correct.

12 Q And then on July 9 you had the meeting in General Kellogg's  
13 office with the Ukrainian National Security Advisor Danylyuk?

14 A Correct.

15 Q So, at that point, you were aware that there had been this  
16 freeze placed on the Ukrainian assistance. Is that right?

17 A At that point?

18 Q Yes, as of July 9.

19 A I had seen -- correct. I mean, I had seen the update that  
20 OMB had decided or had conveyed to the State Department that they were  
21 not clearing these particular congressional notifications. I don't  
22 believe it was clear, even as of July 9, what exactly was behind that  
23 in terms of was this a, you know, long-term hold or what was the  
24 motivation behind it. But I was aware that there was a problem with  
25 clearing the assistance, yes.

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1           THE CHAIRMAN: And I apologize, Counsel. There were a couple  
2 other questions I'd forgotten I wanted to ask just to follow up on the  
3 questioning by minority counsel.

4           I take it from what you said earlier that in terms of Ambassador  
5 Sondland's conversation with Mr. Yermak on the sidelines of the Warsaw  
6 meeting between President Zelensky and Vice President Pence, that you  
7 were out of the loop on any discussion Ambassador Sondland had about  
8 the conditioning military aid on the investigations that were described  
9 previously by the President in the July 25 call?

10          MS. WILLIAMS: Correct. I was not present at that meeting, and  
11 I was not aware that it had taken place.

12          THE CHAIRMAN: And were you -- and so you had the -- you may have  
13 seen this described in various ways, as an official track and an  
14 irregular track. You were in the official track hearing the official  
15 message from the Vice President of what the United States wanted Ukraine  
16 to do. Is that right?

17          MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

18          THE CHAIRMAN: But in terms of the unofficial track represented  
19 by that conversation on the sideline between Ambassador Sondland and  
20 Mr. Yermak, you were not part of that irregular track?

21          MS. WILLIAMS: No, sir.

22          THE CHAIRMAN: And in terms of efforts by those in that irregular  
23 track to get President Zelensky to commit to the investigations the  
24 President described in that July 25 phone call, you were not privy to  
25 those conversations either, not part of that track?

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1 MS. WILLIAMS: No, sir.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: So efforts to get Ambassador -- well, efforts to  
3 get President Zelensky to make a public commitment to pursue these two  
4 investigations into the Bidens and Burisma and this debunked conspiracy  
5 theory about 2016, prior to getting the White House meeting, you were  
6 not part of those discussions, you were out of that loop as well?

7 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

8 THE CHAIRMAN: You weren't aware of efforts that Ambassador  
9 Volker or Ambassador Sondland were making to get President Zelensky  
10 to announce these investigations?

11 MS. WILLIAMS: No, sir.

12 THE CHAIRMAN: And I take it that neither Ambassador Volker nor  
13 Ambassador Sondland nor anyone else brought you into their confidence  
14 about efforts to get President Zelensky to go on CNN, even as the aid  
15 was withheld to publicly announce these investigations that President  
16 Trump wanted?

17 MS. WILLIAMS: No, sir, I was not aware of those efforts.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Okay. Mr. Noble.

19 BY MR. NOBLE:

20 Q So going back to that July 9 meeting, prior to that meeting,  
21 had you had any discussions with General Kellogg about the freeze on  
22 the Ukraine assistance?

23 A I don't believe so, because, again, when I learned about it  
24 on July 3, it was a very brief paragraph, and it wasn't entirely clear  
25 what more to the story there was. So I don't believe I raised it to

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1       General Kellogg's attention at that particular time.

2           I believe I did raise it with him for his awareness before the  
3       July 9 meeting just in person. Actually, yes, I did. I recall now.  
4       As I was preparing him for that meeting, I did provide some briefing  
5       materials on a range of, you know, policy matters that we expected  
6       Danylyuk would raise. And I believe I briefed him verbally just for  
7       his awareness about this issue with OMB holding the assistance just  
8       in case it came up.

9           Q     Why did you think it might come up in the meeting with  
10      Danylyuk?

11          A     I had no reason to believe that the Ukrainians were aware  
12       of it at that time, but I just wanted General Kellogg to be aware just  
13       in case.

14          Q     In case it did come up?

15          A     Correct.

16          Q     To your knowledge, was when you briefed General Kellogg about  
17       the freeze, based on Vindman's email, was that the first time that he  
18       was learning that a freeze had been placed, or do you think he was  
19       previously aware?

20          A     I don't really recall his reaction, to be honest, so I can't  
21       really say one way or the other whether it was the first time he was  
22       hearing of the information or not.

23          Q     And did you and General Kellogg have a substantive discussion  
24       about that topic, or was it just kind of one way, you briefed him and  
25       that was it?

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1           A    It was one way.  It was a fairly brief pre-brief, so to speak,  
2   so it was not a lengthy conversation about it.  And, again, even at  
3   that point, this was about a week after I had first learned of it, it  
4   still wasn't entirely clear what was behind the issue, whether it was  
5   still -- OMB's rationale, I had learned, was to determine whether the  
6   aid was still in line with administration priorities.  But I still had  
7   not seen any clarification of what exactly that meant, and if this was  
8   going to be a long-term process.

9           Q    And I believe you testified -- and during that July 9  
10   meeting, I'm assuming this topic did not come up with the Ukrainians,  
11   the freeze?

12          A    Correct, it did not come up.

13          Q    I believe you testified that OMB was tasked with doing some  
14   kind of policy review, or OMB said that there was going to be a policy  
15   review of the assistance provided to Ukraine.  Is that right?

16          A    In the brief update that I had seen on July 3, I don't recall  
17   precisely how it was described.  But what I recall was State Department  
18   was conveying to NSC that they were told by OMB that they were going  
19   to continue holding these congressional notifications pending further  
20   review to make sure that the assistance was in line with administration  
21   priorities.  It was not specific in that short paragraph what exactly  
22   that review would entail.

23          Q    And did you get any more color on that at the July 23 PCC  
24   meeting that you attended?

25          A    Not really.  The OMB representative at that meeting

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1       essentially just conveyed to the group that the guidance they had  
2       received from the White House chief of staff was to continue to hold  
3       the assistance without further explanation.

4           Q     But the unanimous view of all the agencies that participated  
5       in the PCC was that the hold should be lifted and the aid should flow  
6       to Ukraine?

7           A     That's correct.

8           Q     Okay. Now, I believe Mr. Castor asked you some questions  
9       that suggested that President Trump may have been concerned about,  
10      like, a return on investment for these funds. You remember that line  
11      of questioning?

12          A     I recall we discussed President Trump's, you know, broad view  
13      on the effectiveness of foreign aid.

14          Q     But at that point in time, hadn't the Department of Defense  
15      already certified that the assistance was, in fact, effective and  
16      should be provided to Ukraine?

17          A     Yes, they did.

18          Q     Yeah. I mean, Ukraine had been invaded by Russia. They  
19      were literally fighting a hot war against Russia, and this military  
20      assistance was going directly to help Ukraine fight the Russians.  
21      Isn't that accurate?

22          A     Correct. And DOD also made the point that this assistance  
23      primarily goes to U.S. defense contracting companies to implement.

24          Q     So the money was not only benefiting Ukraine, but it was also  
25      indirectly benefiting U.S. companies, which is also a concern of

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1 President Trump, correct?

2 A That was a message that DOD was conveying to help make their  
3 point.

4 Q And so every -- basically, every dollar that is being spent  
5 on this Ukraine assistance, the U.S. is seeing returns to both the  
6 national security of Ukraine, the national security of the United  
7 States, and to essentially the pockets of defense contractors?

8 A That was certainly DOD's point of view.

9 Q So that seems like a pretty good investment from your  
10 perspective?

11 A I believe so.

12 Q And until this freeze that kind of came out of the blue, from  
13 your perspective, on July 3, President Trump had previously supported  
14 assistance to Ukraine, didn't he?

15 A I believe that President Trump had been supportive of our  
16 overall U.S.-Ukraine foreign policy. I don't know that I had any  
17 specific insight into his particular views on the security assistance  
18 per se.

19 Q But, again, all of the agencies at that point in time, as  
20 of July, all these interagency meetings that minority counsel asked  
21 you about, the view was unanimous that the aid should be provided to  
22 Ukraine?

23 A Correct, except for OMB's clarification on why they were  
24 holding it.

25 Q And that view never changed, correct?

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1           A    No, sir.

2           Q    Did you receive any instruction from Vice President Pence  
3    or General Kellogg about the position that you should take in the  
4    interagency meetings that you participated in? Did you discuss that?

5           A    No, I did not. I prepared General Kellogg for his  
6    participation in the Deputies Committee meeting on July 26, but prior  
7    to that, I was kind of participating at my own level and then briefing  
8    General Kellogg afterwards.

9           Q    Can you tell us about how you prepped General Kellogg for  
10   the -- was that the deputies' meeting?

11          A    That's right. I prepared some talking points for General  
12   Kellogg's participation in the July 26 Deputies Committee meeting and  
13   provided him some background on how the previous meetings, the sub-PCC  
14   and the PCC, had gone so that he was aware of the status of the discussion  
15   and where the interagency stood on the issue of security assistance.

16          Q    And did he react in any way to your briefing, your  
17   preparation?

18          A    He seemed to agree that, you know, OVP should take the  
19   position to also support the lifting of the freeze.

20          Q    And are you aware whether Vice President Pence supported that  
21   position at that time?

22          A    I'm not aware because we didn't have a specific conversation  
23   during that timeframe about it.

24          Q    Are you familiar with a Presidential decision memorandum  
25   that was dated on or about August 15 about lifting the freeze on

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1 security assistance?

2 A I don't believe so, no.

3 Q Okay. So you don't recall ever receiving a copy of that?

4 A I can't say that I didn't receive a copy in my email traffic  
5 at one point. I took some leave around that timeframe, so I may have  
6 missed it.

7 Q When did you take leave?

8 A Around that timeframe, in mid-August.

9 Q Yeah. I mean, that's a usual time of year --

10 A Yeah. Apologies if I missed it, but, yeah.

11 Q No worries. But I was just -- my question was going to be  
12 if you knew whether General Kellogg or Vice President Pence ever got  
13 a copy of that memorandum, and whether they concurred in it or Vice  
14 President specifically concurred in it?

15 A I don't know. I just don't know.

16 Q Okay. Are you familiar with -- you may have been on leave,  
17 but are you familiar with a meeting that the President had with advisers  
18 at Bedminster in New Jersey on August 16?

19 A I'm not aware of that meeting, no.

20 Q Or whether Vice President Pence attended that meeting?

21 A I'm not aware. He may have, but I don't recall.

22 Q Are you familiar with another PCC meeting that was held on  
23 July 31?

24 A Yes. I was in that meeting.

25 Q Okay. Can you tell us what happened in that meeting? Or

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1 let's maybe -- what was --

2 A I'll try.

3 Q What was the purpose of that meeting? Was it focused on  
4 Ukraine, or was it about something else?

5 A It was a Ukraine PCC, and as I recall, it was focused on kind  
6 of the, quote/unquote, normal range of agenda items that comprise our  
7 Ukraine policy. So we discussed efforts on the security track, on the  
8 economic track, and kind of the assistance track and where all those  
9 stood.

10 But I recall that because before that, the week before, you know,  
11 the Deputies Committee meeting had taken place and essentially had  
12 resulted in the same conclusion that all agencies except for OMB had  
13 recommended that the hold be lifted.

14 The next step in that process, there needed to be a PC, a  
15 Principals Committee meeting, and that was still pending. So when the  
16 PCC met the following week there was no resolution to the issue of the  
17 security assistance hold, and so essentially, the group just went back  
18 to talking about the normal agenda items. And essentially, the  
19 security assistance freeze was the elephant in the room that we just  
20 skipped over, because that was still trying to move forward working  
21 towards a Principals Committee meeting.

22 Q Okay. So in the July 23 PCC, the July 26 deputies, or the  
23 July 31 PCC meeting -- I believe you participated in all of those,  
24 right?

25 A Yes, sir.

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1           Q     Did the issue of the legality of the hold ever come up? Did  
2     anybody ever raise questions about whether this was legal or not?

3           A     Yes, actually. I think it may have been in the 31st meeting.  
4     I can't recall if it was the 23rd or the 31st, but there were  
5     discussions --

6           MR. SWALWELL: Counsel, can we just get the dates on that, just  
7     which month?

8           MR. NOBLE: Oh, July.

9           MS. WILLIAMS: Oh, sorry. July.

10          MR. SWALWELL: Just for the record, thanks.

11          MS. WILLIAMS: July 23 or July 31, both at the PCC level, there  
12     were discussions about -- raised I believe both by State Department  
13     and DOD, essentially trying to work out if there was no lifting of the  
14     hold, and we were getting closer to the end of the fiscal year, how  
15     those agencies would need to go back to Congress to remedy the situation  
16     with unspent funds, and what would be the legal recourse for either  
17     requesting a rescission of those funds or, you know, what steps would  
18     need to be taken to address that before the end of the fiscal year.

19           BY MR. NOBLE:

20          Q     And are you aware that ultimately after the freeze was  
21     lifted, on September 11, DOD did have to come back to Congress and  
22     Congress did have to write an amendment to effectively allow the funds  
23     to be spent after the September 30 deadline?

24          A     I was not aware of that, but I wasn't tracking it that closely  
25     at that time.

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1           Q     During this course of time, when the security assistance hold  
2     was being considered in the interagency, did you have further  
3     discussions with General Kellogg about what the Office of the Vice  
4     President should or could be doing to try to get the freeze lifted?

5           A     No specific discussions other than my briefing him before  
6     the Deputies Committee meeting on July 26, which would have been his  
7     primary opportunity of engagement on that issue. I would have done  
8     the same if there had been a Principals Committee meeting sometime in  
9     August, but after the Deputies Committee meeting, since no meeting was  
10    scheduled, I didn't have a specific conversation with him about it.

11          Q     Okay. How about in the early part of August, before you  
12    started preparing for the Warsaw meeting, when I know the security  
13    assistance came up again --

14          A     Right.

15          Q     -- did you have any further conversations with General  
16    Kellogg or anybody else at OVP about what are you going to do about  
17    this hold that was on -- hold in place?

18          A     No specific conversations. I was kind of tracking the  
19    process to see if a Principals Committee meeting would be scheduled  
20    at some point. I have to say also during the timeframe of the month  
21    of August, we were still preparing for the Vice President's trip to  
22    Europe, to the U.K., Ireland, and Iceland, so that really consumed a  
23    lot of my time. So I was aware of the pending issue, but not working  
24    it myself on a day-to-day basis.

25          Q     Okay. Are you aware of whether the Ukrainians learned of

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1       the hold prior to it becoming public through that Politico article on  
2       August 28?

3           A    I'm not aware.

4           Q    One way or the other?

5           A    One way or the other.

6           Q    So I do want to ask some more questions about the July 25  
7       call, but it might make sense just to kind of finish with Warsaw and  
8       the security assistance.

9           A    Sure.

10          Q    In preparing for the bilat between Vice President Pence and  
11       President Zelensky, I believe you testified that the Vice President  
12       had asked for an update on the hold on the security assistance. Is  
13       that right?

14          A    That's correct.

15          Q    And that General Kellogg tasked you to gather information  
16       and an update for the Vice President?

17          A    Correct.

18          Q    Can you explain to us what you did to get the update that  
19       was provided to General Kellogg and the Vice President?

20          A    Sure. I had seen a recent similar update prepared by Colonel  
21       Vindman, my NSC colleague, that really laid out the status of the  
22       security assistance and what would be the necessary timings in order  
23       to get the assistance implemented by the end of the fiscal year, how  
24       much was being held, just really the basics of where it stood. So I  
25       used that information to craft an update for General Kellogg to provide

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1 to the Vice President.

2 Q And how far in advance of the September 1st bilat did you  
3 provide the update?

4 A I was asked to provide that on that Friday, which I believe  
5 is August 30, so it was --

6 Q Right before?

7 A -- right before, because we only found out about the trip  
8 the day before that.

9 Q And in the course of gathering this information, were you  
10 able to determine why the hold had been put in place and any insight  
11 into whether or not it was going to be lifted?

12 A At that point, it had been held since July 3. I was still  
13 not aware of what the motivation behind the hold was, but I knew that  
14 General Kellogg was also aware of the hold since he had participated  
15 in the July 26 Deputies Committee meeting, and I wasn't aware of any  
16 change in the status over the course of August. So I did not address  
17 that -- the issue of why in my update. It was really just focused on  
18 how much funding, what was the timeline looking like to -- if it was  
19 going to be released, and, you know, what would it provide.

20 Q Okay. And I believe you testified that you anticipated that  
21 President Zelensky would raise the issue of the hold after it had become  
22 public with the Vice President and that you and others may have prepped  
23 the Vice President on how to respond. Is that right?

24 A Correct. Ambassador Bolton really took the lead in that  
25 pre-brief conversation right before the meeting with President

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1       Zelensky, since he had just seen Zelensky a few days prior. But I  
2       believe his meeting was before the Politico article had taken place,  
3       so Ambassador Bolton had not discussed the hold with Zelensky, is my  
4       understanding.

5           But Ambassador Bolton and the Vice President in the small group  
6       discussed how to respond to that question. And obviously, that group  
7       did not have a precise answer to provide to Zelensky in terms of when  
8       a decision might be made, but they talked about, you know, obviously  
9       a decision would need to be made before the end of the fiscal year,  
10      which was very quickly approaching. And they talked about -- a bit  
11      about, you know, what other European countries could do to help support  
12      Ukraine in the meantime.

13           Q     Was there any discussion of the reason for the hold in that  
14      small group?

15           A     No.

16           Q     No. I mean, it seems a little odd that there's this hold  
17      in place that's been in place since July 3, as you said, the entire  
18      interagency supports lifting the hold, the Vice President anticipates  
19      getting questions about it from President Zelensky, but there's no  
20      discussion of like why are we even doing this, like why is this hold  
21      in place?

22           A     That's correct.

23           Q     Okay. Are you familiar with a firsthand or first-person  
24      cable that Ambassador Taylor drafted and sent to Secretary Pompeo, and  
25      that we believe was further distributed possibly to the White House?

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1           A I am. I've read the cable.

2           Q Were you on the distribution of the cable?

3           A I received it, I believe, from State Department colleagues,  
4 but not on the original distribution, since it was a limited cable that  
5 went straight to the Secretary's office.

6           Q Do you remember who sent it to you or how you got it?

7           A I don't recall, to be honest. It might have been from NSC  
8 colleagues.

9           Q Do you recall what the cable said?

10          A It was a cable outlining Ambassador Taylor's rationale on  
11 the importance of our U.S. security assistance to Ukraine, and why it  
12 was important for the security assistance to continue to flow.

13          Q Do you recall him saying that the hold was folly?

14          A Yes.

15          Q Do you recall anything else that he said, or any other  
16 recommendations that he made?

17          A It was a lengthy cable. I don't remember it verbatim, but  
18 I thought it was a very persuasive case.

19          Q Do you remember approximately when you received a copy of  
20 it, or obtained a copy of it? Was it before the Warsaw bilat?

21          A It was certainly before the Warsaw trip, because I recall  
22 reading it in the process of preparing for the trip. I don't recall  
23 the precise date, but it would have been around that timeframe, end  
24 of August.

25          Q Did you use it in preparing the Vice President for the bilat

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1       when you pulled together the materials that General Kellogg asked you  
2       to do relating to the hold on the assistance?

3           A    I'm trying to recall, because I found it a very persuasive  
4       cable, whether I actually included it in the trip book or not. I  
5       believe I, at least, provided a copy to General Kellogg. I can't recall  
6       for certain whether I put it in the Vice President's trip book or not.

7           Q    Okay. So you don't know one way or the other whether Vice  
8       President Pence ever saw that memo -- or cable, rather?

9           A    I don't recall. I know I found it significant, but I  
10      couldn't say definitively whether I put it in the book or not. I may  
11      have. I just can't recall.

12          Q    You've used words "significant, persuasive." Why did you  
13      think Ambassador Taylor's memo was both significant and persuasive?

14          A    I thought he laid out a very strong case for the effectiveness  
15      of U.S. security assistance to Ukraine, as we've discussed before, not  
16      just because of the actual physical and substantial support that it  
17      provides, but also the symbolic value of it; and that at this particular  
18      critical moment in Ukrainian politics and security environment, that  
19      any signal of wavering U.S. support would send the wrong message to  
20      President Zelensky just as he was trying to implement his reform agenda.

21          Q    And you said you recall Ambassador Taylor writing that he  
22      thought the freeze was -- the hold was folly. Did you agree with that  
23      assessment as well?

24          A    Yes.

25          Q    And you said President Zelensky, when he met with Vice

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1 President Pence, noted the symbolic value, not just the monetary value  
2 of the assistance, right?

3 A Right, he did.

4 Q Did he raise the symbolic value of a White House meeting or  
5 a meeting with President Trump as well?

6 A I'm trying to recall. The reason I'm hesitating is I know  
7 he raised it in the public remarks he made with the President -- with  
8 President Trump at the meeting on the margins of the U.N. General  
9 Assembly not long after, so I don't want to conflate the two.

10 Q Yeah, I think he made a joke about --

11 A He did.

12 Q -- the fact that the White House meeting still had not being  
13 scheduled?

14 A That we had forgotten to give him the dates for the visit.

15 Q Yeah?

16 A I just -- I can't recall specifically if he also raised it  
17 in the meeting with the Vice President.

18 Q But you would agree that a meeting with the President at the  
19 White House, or elsewhere, also carries symbolic value and could be  
20 valuable to the Ukrainians. Even though it may not have a monetary  
21 value, it's valuable in showing that the U.S. has the full -- or Ukraine  
22 has the full support of the United States, particularly when they're  
23 battling Russia?

24 A Yes, I agree.

25 Q Okay. Do you recall whether -- going back to the

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1       cable -- Ambassador Bolton ever raised the cable in the pre-brief for  
2       the Vice President in Warsaw?

3           A    No, I don't believe he did, not specifically. The topic was  
4       discussed, but I don't believe there was reference to the cable.

5           Q    Okay. So I think I want to go back to the July 25 call, and  
6       I know you were asked questions about this from minority counsel but  
7       I had a few others. First, on the issue of Burisma, the company coming  
8       up, does the word "Burisma" actually appear in your notes that you  
9       reviewed recently?

10          A    Yes.

11          Q    So you wouldn't have written that down if it hadn't come up  
12       during the call. Is that right?

13          A    Correct.

14          Q    Do you recall whether it was President Trump who said  
15       Burisma, or might it have been President Zelensky who said Burisma?  
16       Do your notes say one way or the other?

17          A    In looking again at my notes, I believe it was President Trump  
18       who raised Burisma.

19          Q    Okay. Do you know why the word "Burisma" doesn't appear in  
20       the MEMCON that was released publicly?"

21          A    I don't know why.

22          Q    Okay. You weren't involved in the editing process, right?

23          A    No, sir.

24          Q    And I believe you testified that prior to the July 25 call,  
25       you had listened in on about a dozen other calls between President Trump

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1 and other foreign heads of state. Is that right?

2 A Probably, around that number.

3 Q Okay. During the July 25 call, did you have any concerns  
4 about the conversation that you heard between President Trump and  
5 President Zelensky?

6 A I certainly noted that the mention of those specific  
7 investigations seemed unusual as compared to other discussions with  
8 foreign leaders.

9 Q And why were they unusual?

10 A I believed those references to be more political in nature  
11 and so that struck me as unusual.

12 Q Were you involved in preparing talking points for President  
13 Trump for that July 25 call?

14 A No.

15 Q Okay. Did you see the call package or talking points in  
16 advance of the call?

17 A No.

18 Q So you just -- you learned about the call and were asked to  
19 participate in it?

20 A Correct.

21 Q Okay. As you were sitting in the Situation Room and you were  
22 taking notes, did you notice whether other people were taking notes?

23 A Yes, others were taking notes as well.

24 Q Do you recall who took notes during the call?

25 A I believe everybody in the room was taking notes, yes.

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1           Q    Okay. Prior to the July 25 call, you said that these things,  
2 the investigations that you said were political and unusual, had you  
3 ever heard President Trump or anybody else in the Office of the Vice  
4 President or the White House raise the issue of CrowdStrike or the  
5 Ukrainian server?

6           A    No.

7           Q    I mean, or the DNC server?

8           A    No.

9           Q    So that was -- that struck you as -- that was something new?

10          A    I had never heard the word "CrowdStrike" before, so that's  
11 why it struck me as noteworthy.

12          Q    Okay. And what about the -- President Trump's raising the  
13 issue of the 2016 election during the call? Had there been discussion  
14 in the Office of the Vice President or the White House, to your  
15 knowledge, about concerns about possible Ukrainian interference in the  
16 2016 U.S. Presidential election? Had you heard anything --

17          A    No, not to my knowledge.

18          Q    Okay. So that wasn't anything that was part of the official  
19 U.S. policy channel?

20          A    No.

21          Q    What about investigating the Bidens?

22          A    I had never heard discussion of that issue prior to that phone  
23 call.

24          Q    Okay. Do you recall what language President Zelensky was  
25 speaking during the phone call?

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1           A I don't. My understanding, he's more comfortable in  
2 Russian. But not speaking either Ukrainian or Russian, I can't confirm  
3 that.

4           Q Well, was he speaking English --

5           A No.

6           Q -- the whole time?

7           A No. The call was interpreted on both sides.

8           Q So in your other calls with -- that you listened in on between  
9 President Trump and foreign heads of state, had any other issues that  
10 you would describe as political been raised, or domestic political  
11 issues been raised in those calls?

12          A No.

13          Q How did General Kellogg react when President Trump raised  
14 these political issues on the July 25 call?

15          A I didn't sense any reaction. We were all really just focused  
16 on taking notes.

17          Q Did you notice a reaction from anyone in the room?

18          A No. Honestly, we were all pretty busy taking notes in the  
19 moment, and we didn't have any follow-on conversations about it.

20          Q And I believe you testified you never spoke to General  
21 Kellogg about the call afterwards?

22          A I did not.

23          Q Did you speak to anybody about the fact that you found  
24 these -- the call unusual or that political issues had come up in a  
25 call with a foreign leader?

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1           A    No, I did not.

2           Q    Were you aware of whether Ambassador Volker or Ambassador  
3    Sondland had prepared the Ukrainians to expect President Trump to raise  
4    these political issues on the call? Were you aware of that?

5           A    I was not aware of that.

6           Q    So you weren't aware of like text messages and phone  
7    conversations they were having with Andrey Yermak behind the scenes?

8           A    No.

9           Q    Okay. Were you aware, after the Warsaw bilat in September,  
10   of a proposal to have President Zelensky do a televised interview during  
11   which he would announce the investigations into 2016 election  
12   interference, Burisma, or the Bidens? Were you aware of that?

13          A    No, I was not aware of that.

14          Q    So there was no discussions of that in the official Ukraine  
15   policy -- policymaking channel?

16          A    No.

17          Q    No, okay.

18          Now, I believe minority counsel had asked you that -- or maybe  
19   it was Mr. Meadows had asked about the fact that after the bilat in  
20   Warsaw, Vice President Pence was going to call President Trump to relay,  
21   I guess, the positive feedback he got from President Zelensky. Did  
22   you participate in that phone call that night?

23          A    No, I didn't.

24          Q    Okay. Do you know that a phone call did occur though between  
25   the Vice President and the President?

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1           A    I believe he did have a phone call with the President, but,  
2 again, I don't know what topics they discussed.

3           Q    Okay. But President Trump didn't -- after that phone call  
4 did not immediately release the hold on the security assistance, did  
5 he?

6           A    No.

7           Q    It wasn't until about 10 days later that the hold was lifted?

8           A    That's correct.

9           Q    And I believe you testified that it was on September 9, so  
10 2 days before the hold was lifted, that you became aware that the  
11 Congress had launched an investigation into the freeze and the  
12 Ukrainian issues more generally. Is that right?

13          A    I believe so. I can't recall if it was the 9th or the 10th,  
14 but, yes, it was before the hold was lifted.

15          Q    Was that investigation discussed within the Office of the  
16 Vice President?

17          A    No.

18          Q    Did you have any discussions with General Kellogg about the  
19 investigation?

20          A    No. I'm trying to remember where I learned of it, but, no,  
21 I didn't have any conversations.

22          Q    Yeah. Do you recall how you learned about it?

23          A    Not really. Apologies. I don't, honestly. I don't recall  
24 if it was through open-source reporting, or if there was some sort of  
25 internal update, but I don't recall having any conversations with

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1 General Kellogg about it.

2 Q Okay. And not sticking even just within this timeframe, but  
3 more generally, did you ever become aware of a document request that  
4 these committees had sent to the Office of the Vice President for  
5 documents relating to Ukraine?

6 A I believe I saw a letter issued that was publicly released  
7 requesting documents, yes.

8 Q Was there ever any discussion about that request in the  
9 Office of the Vice President that you were involved in?

10 A I'm not sure how to answer related to document requests.

11 MR. SHUR: Could you repeat the question?

12 MR. NOBLE: Sure. The question was, was there any discussion  
13 within the Office of the Vice President of the document request that  
14 the committee sent to the Vice President's office?

15 MR. SHUR: The concern, I think, is that the answer is going to  
16 call for privileged communications with lawyers in the Vice President's  
17 office.

18 MR. NOBLE: I think she can say whether, yes or no, there was  
19 discussion or not without -- is the privilege attorney-client  
20 privilege? Is that --

21 MR. SHUR: Yes.

22 MR. NOBLE: Okay. But I think she can answer whether or not there  
23 was a discussion without getting into the content.

24 MS. WILLIAMS: Okay. Yes.

25 MR. NOBLE: Now, all of these documents that you've been talking

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1       about today, did you turn those over to anybody? Like your notes and  
2       the emails relating to Ukraine? The notes of the July 25 call? The  
3       copy of Ambassador Taylor's cable and the other documents that you've  
4       referenced in your testimony?

5           MR. SHUR: I guess, I think, same objection in the sense that it's  
6       arguably work product in terms of what she was asked to collect and  
7       provide to counsel.

8           BY MR. NOBLE:

9           Q     Oh, well, okay, maybe I can ask it this way: Those documents  
10      still exist within the Office of the Vice President. Is that fair?

11          A     Correct.

12          Q     Okay. And do you recall about when the discussion of the  
13      committee's request for documents was held? Do you remember when that  
14      occurred?

15          A     Not precisely. I'd have to go back and look at when  
16      precisely the letter was issued versus when we started collecting  
17      documents.

18          Q     Okay. Are you aware of the call between Vice President Pence  
19      and President Zelensky on September 18?

20          A     Yes.

21          Q     What was the purpose of that call?

22          A     The purpose was to follow up on his successful meeting with  
23      President Zelensky on September 1, and to reiterate the news that the  
24      security assistance hold had been lifted, and that the security  
25      assistance would be provided. We knew at that point that President

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1       Zelensky was already aware that the security assistance would be  
2       released. But because the Vice President had a successful meeting with  
3       President Zelensky, it was a good opportunity for them to have a  
4       follow-on conversation.

5           Q   And did you listen in on the call?

6           A   Yes.

7           Q   Can you describe the conversation for us?

8           A   Sure. It was a very positive discussion, again, kind of  
9       following up on their successful meeting from September 1, as well as,  
10      at that point, I believe it was just prior to President Trump's first  
11      meeting with President Zelensky in New York, which, I believe, took  
12      place the following week.

13           So it was a good opportunity to kind of bridge that gap and to  
14      convey that the President -- President Trump was looking forward to  
15      meeting President Zelensky in New York the following week, and the Vice  
16      President reiterated the news that the security assistance had been  
17      released.

18           Q   Was there any discussion about the July 25 call between  
19      President Trump and President Zelensky --

20           A   No.

21           Q   -- during that call?

22           What about the investigations that we've been talking about  
23      today?

24           A   No.

25           Q   No. Oh, sorry, I think my time is up.

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1           THE CHAIRMAN: Forty-five minutes to the minority.

2           MR. CASTOR: We have just a few questions. It might make sense  
3       to just keep going on your end and then --

4           MR. NOBLE: Yeah, I think we're almost done.

5           THE CHAIRMAN: Yeah. And we want to go to our members too, but  
6       I don't think we're going to be that long. So do you want us to wrap  
7       up and then you can go and --

8           MR. CASTOR: Right. Like, I mean, I could go for 5 minutes or  
9       something, but it might just make more sense to finish what you're doing  
10      and then we'll --

11          THE CHAIRMAN: Yeah. Let's do that.

12          MR. NOBLE: Okay. Great. Thanks, Steve.

13           BY MR. NOBLE:

14          Q     Did the topic of President Zelensky doing a televised  
15       interview that I asked you about, did that come up during the Vice  
16       President's call with President Zelensky?

17          A     No.

18          Q     Were you aware of whether that was still under consideration  
19       at the time?

20          A     I was still not aware of that at all at that point.

21          Q     Did Vice President Pence give President Zelensky any advice  
22       on how to approach or how to deal with President Trump at the upcoming  
23       United Nations General Assembly?

24          A     Nothing specific, other than just to -- that the  
25       President -- President Trump would be eager to hear about President

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1 Zelensky's progress in his reform agenda.

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1 [1:28 p.m.]

2 BY MR. NOBLE:

3 Q On -- reform agenda on what, on corruption?

4 A Broadly, on anticorruption reforms, on reforming the  
5 judiciary, and the legislative action that his administration was  
6 undertaking, but there was no discussion of any specific  
7 investigations.

8 Q Did Vice President Pence give President Zelensky any kind  
9 of talking points or phrases or keywords to use with President Trump  
10 during their meeting?

11 A No.

12 Q Going back to September 11th, just quickly, are you aware  
13 of a meeting that evening at which the hold on security assistance was  
14 discussed, on September 11?

15 A No. I'm trying to remember was -- I learned about the  
16 lifting of the hold, I believe, on September 11th, but I thought I  
17 learned about it in the morning. So no, I'm not aware of a meeting  
18 that took place that evening.

19 Q So you're not aware of whether the Vice President or General  
20 Kellogg participated in a meeting with President Trump at which the  
21 question of whether to lift the hold was discussed on that day?

22 A I recall around that timeframe, September 10th-11th, there  
23 was discussion with NSC about trying to have a discussion on the status  
24 of the hold with the President, but I'm not -- I was not aware of when  
25 it occurred, and I don't believe that General Kellogg or the Vice

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1 President were a part of it, although I can't confirm that. I'm not  
2 certain.

3 Q To your recollection, though, you didn't have any  
4 conversations with General Kellogg in advance of that, of such a meeting  
5 or after such a meeting?

6 A No. I mean, at that point, the issue of the security  
7 assistance hold had been ongoing, so I didn't feel there was anything  
8 I needed to brief him on.

9 Q Are you aware of whether Ambassador Bolton ever called over  
10 to OMB around the time that he departed the White House to urge them  
11 to lift the hold on security assistance?

12 A I'm not aware.

13 Q Did you participate in the U.N. General Assembly?

14 A No.

15 Q Do you know if Vice President Pence or General Kellogg  
16 participated?

17 A The Vice President was up in New York for about a day and  
18 a half, I believe, but he did not participate in the President's meeting  
19 with President Zelensky.

20 Q Okay. Did you do any prep work for the Vice President's trip  
21 to UNGA?

22 A No. I don't believe he had any engagements related to my  
23 region, so I did not.

24 Q You watched the presser between the President and President  
25 Zelensky?

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1           A    I did.

2           Q    Okay. Did you get any readouts from anybody about the  
3 private meeting that the two Presidents had?

4           A    I believe I did receive a readout later from Tim Morrison  
5 about the meeting.

6           Q    Do you recall what Morrison relayed?

7           A    I don't recall a lot of detail, to be honest. It sounded  
8 like it had been a very positive meeting. I just don't recall the  
9 specifics of it.

10          Q    Are you aware of any conversations that the Vice President  
11 had with either Secretary of State Pompeo or Secretary of Defense Esper  
12 relating to the security assistance?

13          A    I'm not aware of any. I can't say that it didn't come up  
14 in inside conversations, but I'm not aware of any, no.

15          THE CHAIRMAN: I just had one question, then I'm going to hand  
16 it to my colleagues.

17          You mentioned at the Warsaw meeting between President Zelensky  
18 and Vice President Pence that President Zelensky made clear his  
19 interest in the military assistance. Did President Zelensky raise at  
20 that meeting his continued interest in a meeting with President Trump  
21 as well?

22          MS. WILLIAMS: I'm trying to recall. I honestly don't recall if  
23 that specific issue came up.

24          THE CHAIRMAN: His number one priority was getting the military  
25 assistance and -- for its own right, and what it would say to the

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1       Russians about the U.S. having Ukraine's back militarily?

2           MS. WILLIAMS: That's right.

3           THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Swalwell.

4           MR. SWALWELL: Thank you, Chairman.

5           Thank you, Ms. Williams.

6           On the April 21 congratulatory call between President Trump and  
7           President Zelensky, did you hear President Trump mention corruption  
8           at all?

9           MS. WILLIAMS: I only read the transcript, so I wasn't listening  
10          to the call.

11          MR. SWALWELL: I'm sorry. Did you read corruption?

12          MS. WILLIAMS: I believe it may have come up in the context of  
13          our overall foreign policy objectives for Ukraine to address the issue  
14          of anticorruption reforms.

15          MR. SWALWELL: And I understand that those were the objectives  
16          of the team, but what President Trump actually said to President  
17          Zelensky, did he ever use the word "corruption"?

18          MS. WILLIAMS: I would have to refer back to the transcript to  
19          be 100 percent certain. I haven't looked at it in quite a long time.

20          MR. SWALWELL: And you would agree in the July 25 call that  
21          President Trump never used the word "corruption"?

22          MS. WILLIAMS: Again, I'd have to look at the transcript to be  
23          100 percent certain. I believe he did talk about corruption in that  
24          call, but --

25          MR. SWALWELL: You recall hearing the word "corruption" from

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1 President Trump?

2 MS. WILLIAMS: To be honest, I'd have to review the transcript.

3 MR. SWALWELL: After the April 21st call, you said the Vice  
4 President reviewed the call memorandum to be prepared for his call to  
5 President Zelensky. Do you recall that?

6 MS. WILLIAMS: I provided the transcript to him.

7 MR. SWALWELL: For him to review?

8 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

9 MR. SWALWELL: And I think you described the purpose of that as  
10 being so the Vice President was prepared and could carry out the  
11 President, President Trump's foreign policy objectives when he spoke  
12 to President Zelensky -- or President-elect Zelensky?

13 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes. I wanted him to be familiar with the  
14 conversation that President Trump had had with President Zelensky 2  
15 days prior.

16 MR. SWALWELL: And would you say that Vice President Pence was  
17 consistent with the message that President Trump delivered on April  
18 21?

19 MS. WILLIAMS: I believe the two messages were consistent, yes.  
20 They both congratulated President Zelensky and looked forward to a good  
21 working relationship.

22 MR. SWALWELL: So fast-forward to July 25. After that call  
23 memorandum is produced, you, again, provide that to the Vice President  
24 in his briefing materials?

25 MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

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1           MR. SWALWELL: And the next time the Vice President talks with  
2 President Zelensky after July 25 is in Warsaw. Is that right?

3           MS. WILLIAMS: Yes. The Vice President had not spoken to  
4 Zelensky since April 23rd until September 1st, yes.

5           MR. SWALWELL: And so, how would you describe the consistency  
6 between President Trump's foreign policy objectives in the July 25 call  
7 with how Vice President Pence interacted with President Zelensky in  
8 their Warsaw meeting?

9           I guess my question is, April 21, President Trump expresses  
10 foreign policy objectives. It sounds like Vice President Pence stays  
11 pretty consistent with those in his followup call.

12          MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

13          MR. SWALWELL: Now take the July 25 call between President Trump  
14 and President Zelensky. How would you describe Vice President Pence's  
15 consistency with President Trump's objectives?

16          MS. WILLIAMS: I would say that the Vice President's meeting on  
17 September 1st in Warsaw was consistent with U.S. foreign policy  
18 objectives.

19          MR. SWALWELL: But I asked about President Trump's objectives.

20          MS. WILLIAMS: I understand. I understand. I would say that,  
21 as I've spoken about earlier, that I did find a couple of the references  
22 in the President's July 25th call unusual, and more of a political  
23 nature, and that is not something that the Vice President has ever  
24 raised with the Ukrainians.

25          MR. SWALWELL: You would agree that the President of the United

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1 States sets the foreign policy objectives for the United States?

2 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, sir.

3 MR. SWALWELL: And in the July 25 call, the priorities for  
4 President Trump were for the Ukrainians to look into CrowdStrike and  
5 to investigate the Bidens?

6 MS. WILLIAMS: That is what he raised.

7 MR. SWALWELL: And were those priorities of the President of the  
8 United States raised by the Vice President when he met in person with  
9 President Zelensky?

10 MS. WILLIAMS: No.

11 MR. SWALWELL: Why weren't they raised by the Vice President?

12 MS. WILLIAMS: It was never part of any of the preparation for  
13 that meeting, and certainly not part of our -- the message that the  
14 Vice President intended to convey to President Zelensky. It never came  
15 up.

16 MR. SWALWELL: You described it as unusual when you heard those  
17 priorities raised on the July 25 call. How did they make you feel as  
18 you heard those words expressed by the President of the United States  
19 to the President of Ukraine?

20 MS. WILLIAMS: As I mentioned, I think I found them to be more  
21 political in nature and, in the context of a foreign policy -- or an  
22 engagement with a foreign leader, to be more political than diplomatic.

23 MR. SWALWELL: On the July 9 meeting between the Vice President's  
24 team and the Ukrainians that you were part of, was Rudy Giuliani  
25 mentioned at all in that meeting?

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1 MS. WILLIAMS: No.

2 MR. SWALWELL: Were you a part of any discussions about releasing  
3 the July 25 call record and making it public?

4 MS. WILLIAMS: No.

5 MR. SWALWELL: Was the Vice President a part of any discussions  
6 to make it public?

7 MS. WILLIAMS: Not to my knowledge.

8 MR. SWALWELL: Can you describe for us, from your interactions  
9 with the Ukrainians, what the security assistance meant to them as far  
10 as life and death in the eastern part of their country?

11 MS. WILLIAMS: My only personal interactions with the Ukrainians  
12 were on July 9th, and again on September 1st, in the meetings that we've  
13 discussed.

14 MR. SWALWELL: And did you get a sense of what it meant to them  
15 to have that assistance?

16 MS. WILLIAMS: In both contexts, both Secretary Danylyuk on July  
17 9th, and certainly President Zelensky and Secretary Danylyuk at that  
18 time on September 1st in Warsaw, conveyed quite seriously and  
19 emphatically the importance of U.S. security assistance to Ukraine,  
20 in terms of, again, not just the physical support provided, but the  
21 symbolic value of that support.

22 MR. SWALWELL: Thank you.

23 I yield back.

24 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Raskin.

25 MR. RASKIN: When the hold was finally lifted on the security

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1 assistance on September 11th, what was your understanding at that point  
2 of why the hold was lifted?

3 MS. WILLIAMS: I never received any readout of a discussion with  
4 the President on how that decision was made, so I'm really not in a  
5 position to comment on what the rationale was.

6 MR. RASKIN: So you got no readout from the President on that  
7 issue, but was there any discussion on the Vice President's staff of  
8 what motivated the lifting of the hold?

9 MS. WILLIAMS: No. I found out from a colleague that morning,  
10 I believe that morning, that the President had made the decision to  
11 lift the hold, but with no further discussion as to the rationale.

12 MR. RASKIN: So between July 3rd, when you first learned of the  
13 hold, and September 11th, when you learned it was lifted, you never  
14 came to understand why the hold was imposed on the security assistance?

15 MS. WILLIAMS: That is correct.

16 MR. RASKIN: And were you curious about it, or you just accepted  
17 it?

18 MS. WILLIAMS: I was certainly curious about it, but I didn't have  
19 any firsthand knowledge as to the reasoning.

20 MR. RASKIN: Okay. And you stated that you took notes of the  
21 mentions of the political conditions in the July 25th call because you  
22 thought that they were improper, because they were more political than  
23 diplomatic. Is that right?

24 MS. WILLIAMS: I think that's how I would characterize those two  
25 references to specific investigations on that call, yes.

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1           MR. RASKIN: Some people would say that diplomacy itself is  
2 inherently political, and so everything diplomatic is, by definition,  
3 political also, but you had a strong reaction to that. Can you spell  
4 out what you saw as improperly political about those mentions?

5           MS. WILLIAMS: I believe I found the specific references to  
6 be -- to be more specific to the President in nature, to his personal  
7 political agenda, as opposed to a broader --

8           MR. RASKIN: Do you mean related to a campaign?

9           MS. WILLIAMS: Potentially, as opposed to a broader foreign  
10 policy objective of the United States.

11          MR. RASKIN: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12          THE CHAIRMAN: Representative Heck and then Representative  
13 Demings.

14          MR. HECK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15          Ms. Williams, thank you again very much for being here. I  
16 actually want to briefly follow up on a question that Congressman  
17 Swalwell asked. He asked you how it made you feel when you heard the  
18 President in the July 25th call invoke the specter of investigations  
19 for which you've now characterized as personal political interest.

20          And your response to that was that you found them unusual and  
21 political. But the question was how did it make you feel? Given that  
22 what you've just said, would it be fair to infer that it made you  
23 uncomfortable?

24          MS. WILLIAMS: I guess I would say, as a diplomatic professional,  
25 I try to keep my own personal feelings out of, you know, the day-to-day

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1 work, but --

2 MR. HECK: You had no personal feeling response to that, given  
3 how you've characterized it?

4 MS. WILLIAMS: Again, I would say that it struck me as unusual  
5 and inappropriate.

6 MR. HECK: Ms. Williams, that's not the question. How did it  
7 make you feel?

8 MS. WILLIAMS: I guess for me it shed some light on possible other  
9 motivations behind a security assistance hold.

10 MR. HECK: Well, I asked three times and didn't get there, so I  
11 guess I'm going to let it go at that.

12 I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

13 THE CHAIRMAN: Congressman Maloney.

14 MRS. MALONEY: Thank you very much for your service.

15 MS. WILLIAMS: Thank you ma'am.

16 MRS. MALONEY: We've been discussing these telephone calls in  
17 great detail. Do you keep tapes of these telephone calls?

18 MS. WILLIAMS: I do not, and I'm not aware of any.

19 MRS. MALONEY: You're not aware of any?

20 MS. WILLIAMS: I'm not aware of any recordings.

21 MRS. MALONEY: Are you positive there's no recordings?

22 MS. WILLIAMS: I don't know how the White House Situation Room  
23 produces the transcripts of calls, so I'm really not in a position to  
24 say.

25 MRS. MALONEY: Well, I'll tell you how we do them in Congress.

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1 We have a tape of it, and then we have it transcribed, and then they  
2 put the tape with the words and you have an official record. And so,  
3 people have joked in the press and Members talking that, of course,  
4 Putin is listening to these phone calls, given his former profession  
5 as the head of the KGB. [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 Right now many of us are in elections, and when you're in a  
8 contested election, you never say anything unless it's taped, because  
9 your opponent may try to mix your words up or whatever. So we always  
10 have a tape.

11 And something as important as this, don't you think when you're  
12 talking to a foreign government, that there's got to be a tape someplace  
13 of this?

14 MS. WILLIAMS: I'm really not in position to say. I don't know.  
15 I know we receive the written transcripts afterwards for our own  
16 internal records. It's really above my pay grade to determine whether  
17 there's a tape or not.

18 MRS. MALONEY: Where could I go to get this question answered?  
19 Who would tell me whether or not there's a tape? Who could tell me?

20 MS. WILLIAMS: My understanding is the White House Situation Room  
21 handles the processing of those transcripts. So they would --

22 MRS. MALONEY: Can you give me a name?

23 MS. WILLIAMS: I couldn't, honestly. I -- there's a generic  
24 email address that we communicate with them, and it's a very large team.

25 MRS. MALONEY: Who's in charge of the White House Situation Room?

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1 MS. WILLIAMS: I don't personally know. I apologize.

2 MRS. MALONEY: Can you find out for us?

3 MS. WILLIAMS: I certainly can.

4 MRS. MALONEY: Thank you.

5 Now, what I find very confusing is I'm a former bureaucrat in State  
6 Government of New York. And the governors change all the time, but  
7 the bureaucrats stay, and we work for whoever it is. We're working  
8 for the State with a specific job.

9 It's the same for the professionals, not the political  
10 appointees, but the professionals are working for the President,  
11 whoever the President is, right?

12 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, ma'am.

13 MRS. MALONEY: That's it. And so the chain of command is the  
14 President to the Secretary of State down to whoever has that  
15 responsibility, correct?

16 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, ma'am.

17 MRS. MALONEY: Well, what I find, if I were in your position or  
18 others, so confusing is that you have this chain of command from the  
19 President through the State Department. Then you have another chain  
20 of command coming from the President through Giuliani. Now, anyone  
21 who knows their relationship, they're very close friends. And if  
22 Giuliani told me he's speaking for the President, I'd believe him. I'd  
23 believe he's probably speaking for him when he's not saying it.

24 So here how, as a professional, you have this and what was being  
25 told was separate, was different. You had Giuliani saying the

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1 President wants this, and then coming down here, the State Department  
2 saying the President -- they've come in here and testified about this.

3 So have you ever seen that before, or heard of two chains of  
4 command coming into the State Department?

5 MS. WILLIAMS: Not in that way, no, ma'am.

6 MRS. MALONEY: But am I describing it correctly? Was it  
7 confusing to professionals? You were probably a political appointment  
8 working for the Vice President or maybe you're -- are you a political  
9 appointment or are you professional with the State Department?

10 MS. WILLIAMS: I'm a career foreign service officer.

11 MRS. MALONEY: So you're a career officer, so you're working for  
12 the government.

13 MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, ma'am.

14 MRS. MALONEY: How do you -- he was saying, did that make you feel  
15 uncomfortable? Did it make you feel uncomfortable and confused that  
16 a chain of command from the State Department was saying one thing and  
17 then you had a chain of command from the, I'll call it the friendship  
18 channel, I don't know what it is, coming in, and you're sitting there,  
19 both coming from the President. How do you -- how did you and your  
20 colleagues handle that?

21 MS. WILLIAMS: Well, I personally was not aware of a lot of the  
22 discussions that were going on with Mr. Giuliani and others until more  
23 recently through this inquiry process. The first reference I had  
24 personally heard related to Mr. Giuliani was on the July 25th phone  
25 call.

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1           So until that time, I really wasn't aware of what other  
2       engagements the Ukrainians may have had with other U.S.  
3       representatives, whether official or not.

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1           MRS. MALONEY: Well, reading the papers, it was clear that there  
2       was a conflict between the interpretation of the professionals at the  
3       State Department and what was coming in through the very powerful  
4       friendship channel.

5           Now, I'm very sensitive to how women are treated professionally,  
6       and I followed very closely Ambassador Yovanovitch. But she was, by  
7       all accounts, by everyone, both sides of the aisle, they all said  
8       beautiful things about her: a professional, a mentor, she inspired  
9       me, we turned to her for advice.

10          And I see a pattern of the State Department sort of controlling  
11       the situation and saying: Hey, all this stuff isn't true, maybe we  
12       should stand behind our professional.

13          Isn't it the State Department's position usually to back up the  
14       American representatives if they factually know they're correct? What  
15       I heard is everybody was backing this Ambassador, she's absolutely  
16       correct. And wouldn't you say that's true?

17          MS. WILLIAMS: Yes, ma'am.

18          MRS. MALONEY: And then there was a change. Now, the change  
19       seemed to come after the Mueller report came out. Did you see a  
20       difference?

21          It seemed to me that there was a difference in how her situation  
22       was treated and that State Department officials did not stand behind  
23       her when she pled for them to support her. Is that a correct assessment  
24       of what came out?

25          MS. WILLIAMS: I don't recall precisely when the Mueller report

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1 was released, but it seems that it was around that timeframe. I'm not  
2 in a position to make a linkage between the two. But I was aware of  
3 the situation with Ambassador Yovanovitch towards the end of April,  
4 when she was recalled from Kyiv for consultations.

5 MRS. MALONEY: Well, all I can say is, if every candidate has a  
6 tape to make sure that their record is portrayed accurately, I've got  
7 to think that the great country of America has got to have a tape to  
8 counter everybody else's tape that's out there.

9 I mean, everybody is saying -- [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 And it's just common sense that we would have a record.

13 And I would -- what's your -- what's your -- I guess this is not  
14 an appropriate question for you.

15 I just want to thank you for your service.

16 And I yield back.

17 MS. WILLIAMS: Thank you, ma'am.

18 THE CHAIRMAN: Back to the minority.

19 BY MR. CASTOR:

20 Q Thank you for your service and for appearing here today and  
21 answering our questions. This is, indeed, not a comfortable  
22 environment. So to the extent you have sat here all day and answered  
23 questions, thank you.

24 A Thank you.

25 Q I just have a couple of followup questions --

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1 A Of course.

2 Q -- which should be hopefully brief.

3 A No worries.

4 Q Were there any -- after you returned from Poland, did the  
5 VP have any further interactions with President Zelensky, to your  
6 knowledge?

7 A Not until the September 18th call.

8 Q Okay. And could you just refresh my recollection of what  
9 occurred on the September 18th call?

10 A Sure. So we had proposed that the Vice President make a  
11 followup call to President Zelensky to follow up on their very positive  
12 discussion from September 1st. It seemed like good timing, because  
13 not only could they discuss the fact that the security assistance hold  
14 had been released, but also it was about a week before President Trump  
15 would see President Zelensky in New York.

16 So that's why the call took place, and it was very -- again, a  
17 very positive call, you know, with the Vice President reiterating the  
18 release of the funds and asking a bit more about, you know, how  
19 Zelensky's efforts were going.

20 Q Okay. And on that call, there wasn't any mention of  
21 investigations?

22 A No.

23 Q Any --

24 A No specific investigations, no.

25 Q Not 2016, not --

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1 A No.

2 Q -- Burisma?

3 A No.

4 Q Not Biden?

5 A No.

6 Q Not CrowdStrike?

7 A No.

8 Q Okay. How often do you interact with the Vice President?

9 Like how frequently are you briefing him and --

10 A It depends on the week. It's not a very concrete answer.  
11 It's according to his engagements with issues in my portfolio, which  
12 is Europe and Russia. So whether that's in preparation for a meeting  
13 with a foreign leader or a phone call. So I would say, you know, at  
14 least once a week, but it depends on the week.

15 Q And ordinary briefings with the Vice President, what's the  
16 roster of staff that participates?

17 A In his foreign leader engagements or just in general?

18 Q The briefings that you're involved with. What's your  
19 typical understanding or your typical recollection of the type of staff  
20 that is involved?

21 A Well --

22 Q I mean, you're not briefing him one-on-one, correct?

23 A Sure. No, no, no, of course.

24 So when I've been involved in briefings with him, it's -- almost  
25 always General Kellogg is part of that discussion as well, and often

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1 his Chief of Staff.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: If I can just interrupt, and this may or may not  
3 be an issue. We try to be very careful not to allow questions to probe  
4 or seek to identify the whistleblower. And so I just put that caveat  
5 out there, that if your answers would tend to give any indication one  
6 way or another, then you should not go there.

7 And, with that caveat, I will allow the counsel to proceed.

8 MR. CASTOR: I didn't realize I was anywhere close to that.

9 THE CHAIRMAN: I don't know if you are. When we started getting  
10 into tell me all the names you know, then that's when I took interest.

11 BY MR. CASTOR:

12 Q No, I'm just trying to understand, when you brief the Vice  
13 President are there 10 staffers there, is it 5, is it just you, Kellogg,  
14 and --

15 A Usually -- it's usually a small group. It's usually General  
16 Kellogg, Marc Short, our Chief of Staff, and myself. Sometimes our  
17 Deputy National Security Advisor as well.

18 Q Okay. And in terms of the briefing books the Vice President  
19 gets, you know, like any senior executive, I mean, is it your  
20 understanding he reads the briefing books every night or he reads it  
21 sometimes and not sometimes -- or not other times, excuse me?

22 A I honestly don't know. We provide it daily.

23 Q Okay.

24 A Yeah.

25 Q But you have no way of knowing whether or not the Vice

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1 President reads a particular briefing book? I mean, he might have a  
2 very busy calendar. He might have things at night. It just might not  
3 happen.

4 A Correct.

5 Q And there's just no way of knowing.

6 A Correct.

7 Q And so the briefing book that the Vice President received  
8 on July 25th, you said it included the call transcript.

9 A That's right.

10 Q And to the best of your knowledge, that was the only briefing  
11 book or set of materials provided to the Vice President relating to  
12 that call?

13 A Correct.

14 Q And you genuinely just don't know if the Vice President read  
15 that information?

16 A That's right. I just don't know.

17 Q Okay.

18 The concerns that you've outlined about the call, have you  
19 communicated your concerns at any point to anyone inside the Vice  
20 President's office?

21 A No. My boss, General Kellogg, was on the call as well. And  
22 I knew that the Vice President had access to the transcript from his  
23 briefing book that evening. But given my role as Special Adviser to  
24 the Vice President, I considered that something related to the  
25 President in that manner was really outside my purview.

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1           Q    Now that you're here testifying in Congress, that there's  
2        a transcript that could be made public, before you came up here did  
3        you communicate to the Vice President's -- to General Kellogg and the  
4        rest of the staff that you're coming up here and you're planning to  
5        tell Congress about the concerns you had?

6           A    I didn't discuss my testimony with anyone in the office.

7           Q    So it's possible General Kellogg, the other staff in the Vice  
8        President's office, this might be the first they're hearing of your  
9        concerns about the 7/25 call?

10          A    That is possible.

11          Q    The information you received from Marc Short's assistant on  
12        May 13th -- was that the day?

13          A    Correct.

14          Q    You were told by Marc Short's assistant that the VP was not  
15        going on the trip?

16          A    Correct.

17          Q    And did the assistant -- I think you said it was a she, right?

18          A    Yes.

19          Q    Did she explain why or how she came to learn that?

20          A    My best recollection is that she informed me that the VP would  
21        not be traveling to Ukraine for the inauguration. And I asked her,  
22        why not? And my best recollection is that she then let me know that  
23        the President had determined that the Vice President should not go.

24          Q    Okay.

25          A    But I was not privy to that conversation.

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1 Q Okay. And it was a telephone conversation?

2 A Correct.

3 Q And you didn't ask any followup questions?

4 A I took that to be the guidance and then moved on with stopping  
5 the trip preparation.

6 Q So as you sit here today, you don't know how she learned that  
7 information?

8 A Correct, I don't.

9 Q Okay. Have you had any further discussions with her since  
10 May 13th about that conversation? Have you --

11 A No. We don't really talk about policy issues. I generally  
12 engage with her related to scheduling issues.

13 Q So you didn't go back to her and try to refresh your  
14 recollection about exactly how you came to learn this information?

15 A No. I refreshed my memory just from looking at my own  
16 internal documents.

17 Q Okay. And to the best of your knowledge, between May 13th  
18 and today, you haven't ever discussed that with her, right?

19 A Not with her, no.

20 Q And I think you said this morning that once the VP's trip  
21 to Kyiv was not going to happen you never had any discussions with  
22 General Kellogg or Mr. Short or anyone on the VP's staff about why?

23 A No. No, I conveyed that information to NSC colleagues and  
24 let them take it from there.

25 Q So your information about the why solely comes from

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1       Mr. Short's assistant, right?

2           A    That's right.

3           Q    I forget if you indicated to us, but how many interactions  
4       have you had with Ambassador Sondland?

5           A    A handful. I'm trying to be more precise than that. He was  
6       obviously part of the delegation in Warsaw, so I saw him a couple times  
7       there. I had seen him at some point in the summer at another meeting  
8       related to, I believe, other EU issues. So not a lot, four or five.

9           Q    Okay. And have you had any discussions with other staffers  
10      that you work with about Ambassador Sondland and his role in some of  
11      these issues?

12          A    In his role in Ukraine issues in particular?

13          Q    Yes.

14          A    Not specific discussions. I mean, I think his name came up  
15      in various discussions about Ukraine, and so I deduced from that that  
16      obviously he was involved. I didn't know if he had a -- some sort of  
17      formal designation to do that or if it was just his interest in it.

18          Q    Did you know whether or not Ambassador Sondland represented  
19      to people that he frequently communicated with the President?

20          A    Can you rephrase? That he represented --

21          Q    Do you know whether Ambassador Sondland had represented to  
22      other people in your circle of, you know, working these staff issues,  
23      represented to those people that he had frequent communications with  
24      the President?

25          A    I don't know. I didn't have enough personal interaction

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1 with Ambassador Sondland to be able to say.

2 Q Okay. So it was never communicated to you that part of his  
3 value proposition here is that he's close to the President?

4 A Again, you know, I'm only now becoming aware of some of the  
5 engagements that he may have had with Ukrainians and others, so I don't  
6 know how he characterized himself in those discussions.

7 Q The communication that he had with Mr. Yermak in Warsaw, you  
8 only learned about that in the press?

9 A That's right. I was not aware of it at the time.

10 Q And were you tracking what happened yesterday? He submitted  
11 an addendum, I think it is.

12 A I've seen that.

13 Q An addendum? Was that what it was, an addendum to his  
14 testimony?

15 A I've seen it.

16 Q Did you see that?

17 A I've seen the reports, yes.

18 Q Okay. And did you track what was in the addendum?

19 A I haven't read it yet. I've just seen the news reporting  
20 about it.

21 Q Do you know whether the addendum included an account of the  
22 Warsaw --

23 A I don't know, I haven't read it yet. But I understand I think  
24 he was describing his meeting with Mr. Yermak. But, again, I wasn't  
25 part of that meeting in Warsaw.

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1           Q    Okay. But the -- Morrison, Bolton, nobody communicated to  
2 you about the Sondland-Yermak communication?

3           A    Correct.

4           Q    You just read about it in the press?

5           A    Yes. I was not aware of that until this week.

6           MR. CASTOR: Okay.

7           That's all I have.

8           Mr. Jordan?

9           MR. JORDAN: So the concerns you had, Ms. Williams, with the July  
10 25th call, I just want to make sure I heard what you said earlier. You  
11 didn't share any concerns with anyone?

12          MS. WILLIAMS: No, sir, that's right.

13          MR. JORDAN: Okay. Not with General Kellogg, not with the Vice  
14 President?

15          MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

16          MR. JORDAN: Okay. And the Vice President had the three  
17 interactions with President Zelensky. He had the call in April, he  
18 had the face-to-face in Warsaw September 1st, and then the followup  
19 call a few weeks later.

20          MS. WILLIAMS: September 18th, yes, sir.

21          MR. JORDAN: September 17th, 18th?

22          MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

23          MR. JORDAN: 18th. Okay. And Mr. Castor asked you about what,  
24 you know, the things that weren't discussed there and what was discussed  
25 there.

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1           Did the Vice President talk with any other high-ranking Ukrainian  
2        officials in this timeframe?

3           MS. WILLIAMS: No. There were other Ukrainian officials  
4        obviously involved in the September 1st bilat meeting, but that's it.

5           MR. JORDAN: But the focus was always the Vice President and  
6        President Zelensky, talking with --

7           MS. WILLIAMS: Correct.

8           MR. JORDAN: -- our Vice President talking with their top -- top  
9        official?

10          MS. WILLIAMS: That's right.

11          MR. JORDAN: Okay. Thank you.

12          THE CHAIRMAN: Okay.

13          Ms. Williams, thank you for your testimony. Thank you for your  
14        service to the country.

15          That concludes this deposition, and we are adjourned.

16          [Whereupon, at 1:57 p.m., the deposition was concluded.]

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November 11, 2019

The Honorable Adam Schiff  
Chairman  
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Re: Correction to the transcript of Jennifer Williams's deposition testimony

Dear Chairman Schiff:

We write on behalf of Jennifer Williams under Rule 8 of the 116th Congress's Regulations for Use of Deposition Authority. Ms. Williams has reviewed the transcript of her deposition testimony from November 7, 2019, and wishes to amend it as described below.

At her deposition, Ms. Williams was asked whether the Ukrainian company Burisma was mentioned by name during the call between President Trump and President Zelensky on July 25, 2019. She testified that it was. Tr. at 66-67, 129. She was then asked who had mentioned it and whether she had taken notes. Ms. Williams testified that she had taken notes, and that she believed her notes reflected that President Trump had referenced Burisma. *Id.* At the time of her testimony, that was Ms. Williams's recollection.

Following the deposition, Ms. Williams reviewed her notes again and discovered that her recollection had been incorrect. Her notes reflect that President Zelensky mentioned Burisma during the July 25 call. They do not indicate that President Trump did so. Accordingly, Ms. Williams wishes to amend her response to the question discussed above so that it accurately reflects what she recorded during the call.

We thank the Committee for considering this letter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "J. Shur".

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Justin V. Shur  
Emily K. Damrau  
Caleb Hayes-Deats  
*Counsel to Jennifer Williams*

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jennifer Williams".

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Jennifer Williams